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EDITORIAL

ENERGY AND IMAGERY

The profoundest Japanese morality play is the story of the forty-seven samurai who committed suicide out of loyalty to their murdered master. A newly masterful Jimmy Carter, who was being murdered in the polls, exacted a similar show of fealty from thirty-three Cabinet-level and White House officials. But the July 17 mass *seppuku* (which, as reported in our last issue, was decided upon as early as July 10) was botched and the purity of the rite sullied by the revelation that its chief inspiration had been the polls of Patrick Caddell and the pillow talk of Lady Rosalynn. The people's call for a more responsive Administration was answered by concentrating power in the hands of Hamilton Jordan.

Faced with an oil shortage, the President put a ceiling on "foreign oil," the outer limit of which was pegged to 1977, the year of the highest imports in history (the lower ceilings for 1979 and 1980 will be achieved automatically through inflation and recession). He made no mention of nuclear energy, yet his program must lean heavily on it. He professed concern for the environment and impatience with "red tape"—including environmental legislation. To cut this red tape he called for the creation of still another Federal agency. He proposed a remote synthetic-fuels program of untold costliness and environmental danger but easily calculable economic benefits to the oil companies who own the shale and the coal.

Had a purge like the President's taken place in the Soviet Union, Kremlinologists would have been pontificating about the problems of transition in a totalitarian state. The President's speech would have sent them to George Orwell's *1984*, and doublespeak. Can it be that his crisis of confidence speech was something of a confidence game?

CAPPING THIRD WORLD GUSHERS

BEYOND WEBER
E. Richard Larson

SALT II—CALL TO DISARM
Marcus G. Raskin

CORPORATE GUNRUNNERS
Michael T. Klare

LITERARY HYPE
Richard Gilman

SPECIAL REPORT

HOW BIG OIL TURNED OFF THE GAS

FRED J. COOK

The great "oil crisis" of the summer of 1979 may well go down in history as one of the greatest frauds ever perpetrated on a helpless people. The truth is that there was no shortage of oil. This is verified by every responsible source. Indeed, solid statistics show that there was more oil available than there had been in 1978 when there were no gas lines, no murders of frustrated motorists—in a word, no "crisis."

President Carter's Sermon on the Mount on Sunday night, July 15, ignored the fraud. He insisted that the shortage was "real." To have admitted that it was not would have entailed an admission of the culpability of Big Oil and of President Carter's own recumbent Department of Energy.

The naïve may say to themselves, "Why, this cannot be." So let's begin by citing some sources: A Federal Trade Commission study concluded on May 30 that gasoline supplies were up from 4 to 8 percent (depending on the month in which the comparison was made) during the first four months of 1979 over the comparable period in 1978. U.S. Customs figures, independently verified by House of Representatives researchers, show that the "Iranian shortfall" so widely trumpeted to validate the "crisis" was a red herring, because imports of oil during the first five months of 1979 actually increased 10 percent over 1978. A world energy assessment by the Central Intelligence Agency shows that world oil production in the first quarter of 1979 was up despite the Iranian disruption; that U.S. imports through May showed

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LETTERS.

OBJECTION

Los Angeles

I was amazed to read in your editorial "The L.A. Segs" [George Slaff, *The Nation,* June 16] that I gave assistance to the recent recall of Los Angeles Board of Education President Howard Miller.

I believe firmly that this recall was an abuse of a process which is intended to remove from office those who are seriously derelict in their responsibilities. Mr. Miller does not fall in that category. For personal reasons, I chose not to endorse him, but I certainly did nothing to aid his opponents.

It's interesting to note that supporters of the recall label me a "pro-buser" while Mr. Miller's associates put me in the other camp. The fact of the matter is simple: As a City Councilman, I have absolutely no power to effect integration in this city. I have made a pledge to myself that I will not use this painful and emotional issue for my own political benefit. So, I just keep my mouth shut! *Zev Yaroslavsky*
Councilman, Fifth District

Los Angeles

In my comment on the recall of President Miller of the Los Angeles Board of Education, I wrote that "sources high up in the Miller campaign assert that [Los Angeles City Councilman] Yaroslavsky gave off-the-record assistance to the recall."

I have been advised by Councilman Yaroslavsky that at no time did he render any assistance, on the record or off the record, to the recall.

Councilman Yaroslavsky also advised me that he was the author of the change of Board of Education elections from citywide to district to ensure minority representation on the board and that in the last election he raised funds and vigorously supported Vahac Mardirosian, the liberal pro-integration candidate who, unfortunately, was defeated.
George Slaff

HYGIENISTS NEEDED

Chicago

The reason that only "5 percent of American factories have an industrial hygiene program" ["Lives in the Balance Sheet," Edward Greer, *The Nation,* May 19] is that there are only 4,500 industrial hygienists in the whole nation. The sad fact is that most of those industrial hygienists work for management.

Rarely does a union show up at a negotiating table with an industrial hygienist at its elbow.... In just about any Occupational Safety and Health Administration controversy concerning toxic agents, the corporations can barrage a public meeting of legislators with doctors and industrial hygienists.... The workers' evidence is too often a hacking cough or a bruised body. And that's not good enough.

The Nation has a large audience of young collegiate liberals. That audience can make a career decision to get into the industrial hygiene field on the side of workers.... They should get in touch with their local university (thirty-five universities have industrial hygiene programs) or local OSHA office and get some more information. *Mike Lavelle*

A QUESTION OF PLACE

New York City

I appreciated Heywood Hale Broun's deft approach to gambling ["Rendering Unto Caesar's World," *The Nation,* June 16] but Dutch Schultz was not shot to death in a barber chair. He was shot to death in a lavatory. *Oliver Pilat*

CHEEK REACTION

London

Perhaps Christopher Hitchens should have rewritten more than two words in his postelection article, "Reactionary Cheek" [*The Nation,* May 26], because he makes a couple of misleading statements in his effort to make the bleak picture even bleaker. The National Front did not increase its vote in any real terms; indeed, as the *New Statesman* said, the result for the N.F. was "deeply humiliating." The Ecology Party, contesting only one-sixth the number of seats, polled as many votes as the N.F. (the good news). Of course, it's highly likely that at least part of the falloff in N.F. votes came because Thatcher's racist appeal is strong enough to provide a practical alternative for otherwise staunch N.F. supporters (the bad news).

Whether the swing was hardest against the Labor left is also debatable. If anything, the swing is more consistent regionally than ideologically, and the Labor left is, proportionally at least, in a perhaps stronger position within the party than it was before the vote. Of course, some valuable Members of Parliament were lost (and that's more bad news).

Christopher Hitchens ends his very good article by saying Britain's problems are not a model for other nations.... Bad news rules, as they say over here. *Michael Carlson*

Maynooth, Canada

Regarding your article "Reactionary Cheek": While it may not have been done for that reason, justice demanded that Ulster be given a few more seats in the House of Commons. If one assumes that the overrepresentation of Wales and Scotland is continued because all sides believe it to be just, one likely can argue that Ulster should have got even more seats than it did.

It was the working class, not the middle class and especially not the upper-middle class, who swung to Mrs. Thatcher, so if her victory is a product of a "revolt" of the haves we must conclude that the working class are the haves in the United Kingdom.

The haves have as much right as the have-nots to use politics to protect their interests. To argue otherwise leads one in antidemocratic directions.
George Hendry

CHARTER LIMITS

Chicago

Re: your editorial "Chartering the FBI" [*The Nation,* June 2].

Please be advised that no charter will check the encroachment of the Federal police. Only reduction of staff, decrease in the number of laws and diminished budgets can accomplish the objectives of a decrease in "intelligence" agencies' intrusions on individual liberty.
Shelly Waxman
Libertarian Lawyers Alliance of Illinois

IMPERFECT WORD

The correct title of the book that Steven M.L. Aronson ["Word Imperfect," *The Nation,* July 14-21] is co-authoring for William Morrow & Company is *HYPE: The Phenomenon of Disproportion.*

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EDITORIALS.

What Billy Knew

The President's purge of his Administration should cause us to rethink the relationship of Billy Carter to Jimmy Carter. It is usually taken for granted that Billy is a free-swinging, irresponsible, booze-sodden character whom Jimmy carries as his cross.

The recent behavior of Jimmy, who apparently needs to be regularly reborn like others need to acquire the latest fashions every season, suggests a man who is vengeful, suspicious and possessed, who is a poor manager and an absentee "owner." Back in Plains, all of these characteristics must have driven poor Billy Carter right out of his head. Knowing the truth about this small-town businessman who stuck his younger brother with running the family firm while he hustled around the country raising money for his campaign, knowing as well that Jimmy Carter could not manage the peanut business, let alone the nation, knowing also that Carter's attention to detail mas[illegible] fact that he paid attention to the wrong details—those that would advance him as against those that would protect the peanut business—must surely have caused no end of psychic pain to Billy Carter. Billy seems to have followed the path of other dissenters, like Martha Mitchell, who are hospitalized by the psychiatrists because they see too deeply. They are portrayed as fools in the media, which cannot be distracted from a fixation on the momentarily powerful.

There are certain other serious matters which we may want to remember. In the moral swamp of Machiavellianism, cruelty should be performed quickly, followed by balm. Thus, Carter should have fired the people first, replaced them immediately, and then gone on television to talk about the importance of community and leadership. Doing it in reverse suggests his and his personal staff's political incompetence—an incompetence that those with longer knives than the Georgia group's will not easily forget.

It is no wonder that while the President "positions" himself for the coming campaign, every sensible person in Washington below the Cabinet level is now looking for new employment. Billy could have told them that just as

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the peanut business was an instrument for Jimmy's ambition, so the Government—and the nation—is seen by the Georgia clique as a bigger instrument for their ambitions. We wonder if any of the chosen 150 who went to the mountaintop would now still take *that* helicopter ride.

MARCUS G. RASKIN

Capping Third World Gushers

Faced with the prospect of criticizing the petroleum industry during the recent energy flap, the fiercest and most relentless bloodhounds of American journalism were magically transformed into compliant RCA Victor house dogs, straining to catch every syllable of their master's voice. A *Time* essay declared that criticism of oil companies was divisive and should therefore simply cease. A *New York Times* sample of social scientists diagnosed public skepticism about the oil crisis as "neurotic avoidance." With rare exceptions, the real causes of gas shortages on both coasts went unexplored. Instead, a parade of changing oil company explanations marched by—weather, OPEC, Ayatollah Khomeini, platform fires in the Gulf of Mexico, human error, Department of Energy rules, complex gas-allocation formulas—none of which failed to be respectfully reported.

The press also contributed to public mystification by its nonreporting. The most spectacular omission was a recent General Accounting Office report on oil diversification in the Third World. The report detailed major opposition by the oil companies and the Carter Administration to a World Bank proposal for financing oil and gas exploration in less-developed countries that were not members of OPEC. With the exception of a single story in *The Washington Star,* the G.A.O. report went virtually unremarked in the major press.

The original World Bank proposal called for a special international revolving fund to finance the exploration, but after discussions involving the oil companies, Administration figures, bank officials and the Central Intelligence Agency, the ambitious plan was scrapped in favor of a modest extension of traditional World Bank lending policy more favorable to the multinationals.

In its final form, the project drew opposition only from giant Exxon, which spelled out its objections in an exchange with Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal. This interesting correspondence was not included in the G.A.O. report, but *The Nation* has obtained copies (see opposite page). Other oil companies, including Gulf, Standard of Indiana and Mobil, were more receptive. Lacking Exxon's comparative advantage in raising money, these smaller companies stand to profit from a loan program of the right sort, i.e., one that furnishes them with needed capital, imposes minimal restrictions and, because administered through the World Bank, reduces the risks associated with dealing with politically volatile less-developed countries.

The news value of the story is manifest, if only because the major oil companies' opposition to source diversification is so strikingly at odds with their self-dramatization as latter-day Argonauts in headlong pursuit of new sources of black gold. But it has a deeper importance Properly analyzed, it provides a privileged point of entry to understanding the real political context of the recent Carter Administration initiatives on energy policy.

The latest round of OPEC price increases has wreaked obvious havoc upon energy consumers. But in contrast to previous price hikes, it has also stirred considerable anxiety in the international banking community. Some bankers are worried about finding adequate investment outlets to recycle the coming deluge of new Arab dollars. A more serious and widely shared concern is that the less-developed countries, already heavily burdened with oil-related debts, cannot bear the additional strain. Given their declining trade positions and heavy indebtedness to private banks, the prospect of collapse is fearsome indeed.

Worldwide pressure to increase and diversify energy supplies also poses a special threat to the major oil companies, whose future is intimately tied to OPEC. As long as OPEC remains the primary source of world energy, prices will be high, and so will the majors' profits. But as demand mounts for cheaper energy, the smaller companies will be increasingly tempted to cut separate deals with non-OPEC suppliers, develop new sources of oil and in the long run help to break the cartel. The original World Bank plan would have facilitated such maneuvering; hence the opposition to the plan from the majors.

Some of the initiatives taken at the recent Tokyo summit to restrict oil imports by the advanced countries, and Carter's seconding that strategy in his recent energy speeches, represent a policy tailored to manage this nascent conflict between international banks and multinational oil. The Tokyo restrictions put a ceiling on oil imports into the strong markets of the industrialized Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development countries, regardless of the quantity of new oil discovered in the world. If oil companies are permitted to fill the import allotments with oil under long-term contracts with OPEC (and especially with Saudi Arabia), the effects of additional discoveries on the cartel would be minimized, though probably not eliminated. More of the developing countries' money would remain with them, instead of going to OPEC. This would help insure that the banks get repaid. If the Tokyo arrangement survives intense pressure from domestic consumers and national rivalries, it will be a masterful holding action, keeping together the international oil and banking coalition that has long been the core of Trilateralism generally and the Carter Administration in particular.

Realizing the improbable benefits this strategy conferred on American energy consumers, Mr. Carter shrewdly decided to retire to Camp David, where he fine-tuned his distracting speech about national confidence. Along with the obligatory religious leaders, machine pols and labor

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statesmen who made the pilgrimage to visit him, there was a glittering array of investment bankers, Big Oil representatives and other multinationalists of rare pedigree. They included: Thornton Bradshaw of Atlantic Richfield; Clark Clifford, superlawyer and Phillips Petroleum director; John Sawhill, former energy official, Trilateralist and New York University president; Robert Abboud, head of the First National Bank of Chicago and a director of Standard of Indiana; James Akins, oil consultant *extraordinaire*; John Gardner, founder of Common Cause and special adviser to the ARCO-dominated Aspen Institute; Sol Linowitz of Coudert Brothers, Xerox and the Trilateral Commission; Reginald Jones of General Electric; John Gutfreund of Salomon Brothers; John Filer of Aetna Life; David Mahoney of Norton Simon, and Jay Rockefeller, Governor of West Virginia and also a Trilateralist. Congressman Toby Moffett of Connecticut observed that the Camp David assembly had "resembled an Exxon board meeting at times." This seems unfair. Clearly a much wider sample of oilmen and bankers was consulted.

January 15, 1979

The Honorable W. Michael Blumenthal
Secretary of the Treasury
Washington, D.C. 20220

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I understand that the World Bank is considering expansion of its activities in support of energy development in LDCs, including, in particular, the possibility of providing Bank loans for oil and gas exploration. We certainly share the goal of finding more oil and gas in the oil importing developing countries, or anywhere else for that matter. Industry activity in these countries has been extensive, and during the 1967-76 decade, for example, industry has explored in 83 such countries, drilling 3,770 exploratory wells in 65 of them.

Exploration for oil and gas is inherently risky. Where the presence of oil has yet to be established in developing countries, the commercial success ratio has been one in forty. Consequently such projects seem ill-suited to Bank lending. Traditionally returns on the relatively few successful projects have covered the cost, including dry holes, on the much larger number of unsuccessful projects. This would not be true were the Bank to finance such projects on a loan basis. Among the problems that this would give rise to is that poor countries, where oil exploration was unsuccessful, would be called on to pay the cost of such exploration anyway. Moreover, the risk which exists at every stage from early exploration activities through drilling delineation and development wells seems to me best suited to management by a competitive industry with equity capital at risk. Finally, were the Bank to offer to make loan financing available for exploration in a particular country, it should do so only after ensuring the acreage involved had first been offered to industry on reasonable terms. Otherwise, the Bank's loans might only be replacing already available risk capital.

I believe a program as complex as the one I understand the Bank is considering, implying a major change of the Bank's traditional role, and involving such a sizable commitment of public funds, should be entered into only after it has had the benefit of extensive industry comment and discussion. This would require that the data used by the Bank's staff be made available to the industry for evaluation along with the conclusions and recommendations of the Bank on this proposal. I hope that in any Bank discussion of this subject, the United States could ensure that the Bank would undertake to make the arrangements necessary for providing an opportunity for such comment and discussion. We would be pleased to discuss this matter further with you, or your staff, if there is more information that we could provide.

Sincerely,
C.C. Garvin, Jr.
Chairman of the Board
Exxon Corporation

February 10, 1979

Mr. C.C. Garvin, Jr.
Chairman of the Board
Exxon Corporation
1251 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10020

Dear Mr. Garvin:

Thank you for your letter of January 15 regarding the World Bank's proposed expansion of its activities in support of increased production of primary energy fuels in the developing countries. The Bank's proposals are set out in a study recently reviewed and approved by the Bank's Executive Board. This study has been made public in order to encourage widespread discussion of the program and I am pleased to enclose a copy.

I know you share our view that increasing production of primary energy fuels in developing countries deserves high priority. The current high level of oil import prices exacts a substantial toll on the economies of these countries. Consequently, we strongly support an expanded Bank role to assist oil importing developing countries to achieve savings on such imports through increased production of their domestic energy resources.

We believe, and this view is widely shared among member governments, that the Bank's primary role in this area, as in others, is that of a catalyst, facilitating increased private capital flows and maximizing the total effort. The Bank's performance record gives us every confidence that the entire program, including participation in the financing of surveys, exploratory drilling, development and production, will be carried out with caution and financial prudence. It is our understanding, furthermore, that the Bank hopes through facilitating survey work to encourage widespread dissemination of geological data, both to reduce risks and to enlarge the possibilities for private bidding and participation in energy exploration and development.

I know the Bank would welcome continued discussion with the petroleum industry on technical as well as any other aspects of its program. Such discussions could help to ensure the success of the program and the benefits it can provide to the developing countries involved as well as to the world economy. The U.S. Executive Director at the Bank, Edward Fried, would be happy to facilitate such discussions.

Sincerely,
W. Michael Blumenthal

Weber and Beyond

The Supreme Court's 4-1-4 decision in the *Bakke* case last year was read and analyzed in a welter of confusion. But the clear-cut five-vote majority in the decision rendered in the *Weber* case in June left no doubt about its meaning: voluntarily adopted numerically based affirmative action programs in private industry do not violate Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and hence are lawful.

Bakke, of course, involved action by a state—specifically, reserving for minorities 16 percent of the places in the incoming medical school class at the University of California at Davis—while *Weber* involved an employee-training program set up by the Kaiser Aluminum Corporation, in which 50 percent of the positions were set aside for minority applicants. (See Herman Schwartz, "Another Step *Bakke*-wards," *The Nation*, May 26.)

The seemingly disparate results in two cases that were in many ways similar do not stem from the difference in the laws applied. True, in *Bakke* four Justices found that a pro-

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gram that reserved 16 percent of the places for minorities in an entering medical school class violated Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. Justice Lewis Powell, who cast the swing vote, partially agreed, equating the Title VI standards with Fourteenth Amendment standards and thus holding that the numerical affirmative action plan had to be sustained by a "compelling state interest," which was absent.

Yet Title VII equals Title VI; both prohibit racial discrimination, and they share the same legislative history—the legislative history that Justice William Brennan Jr. found controlling in deciding in *Weber* that Congress did not intend to prohibit affirmative action programs that opened up employment opportunities to blacks. The Kaiser plan was not implemented by a state government, as was the plan in *Bakke*; still, in *Weber* the Court upheld an affirmative action plan of very broad scope indeed—one that sets aside 50 percent of the openings for minorities and that will be in existence until well past the year 2000.

From a legal viewpoint, the cases aren't consistent. But there is a rather simple explanation for the five-vote majority in *Weber*: Justice Potter Stewart switched sides. In *Bakke*, Justice Stewart joined Justices John Paul Stevens, Warren Burger and William Rehnquist in an opinion holding that Title VI's prohibition against racial discrimination makes numerical racial preferences unlawful. In *Weber*, Justice Stewart joined Justices Brennan, Thurgood Marshall, Byron White and Harry Blackmun in an opinion holding that Title VII's prohibition against racial discrimination does *not* make numerical racial preferences favoring minorities unlawful. His views apparently changed. Since he did not write an opinion in either case, we do not know what prompted the turnabout; but it may reflect nothing more than a change in his personal views about the need for affirmative action.

If Justice Stewart's change of heart is a permanent one, then it gives the Court a five-Justice majority generally in favor of affirmative action. The durability of Justice Stewart's shift will be tested in another case now winding its way through the courts. That case, *Detroit Police Officers Association* v. *Young*, involves a numerical affirmative action plan very similar to the one challenged in *Weber*, designed to accelerate the promotion of minority police officers in Detroit. The difference is that the plan involves public employment. The white police officers claim that the city's plan discriminates against them under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act (Title VI has a statutory exemption for public employment, making it inapplicable in the case) and under the Fourteenth Amendment. As a result of *Weber*, we can assume the plan is lawful under Title VI. We are thus back to *Bakke* and the Fourteenth Amendment. One can only speculate about what will happen when the case reaches the Supreme Court next year, but the odds are that Justice Stewart, along with the four Justices who voted to uphold the plan in *Bakke*, will vote to uphold the constitutionality of the plan.

So much for speculation. Certainly the *Weber* case decided a very important issue. But it has not ended the legal arguments over numerical affirmative action in the public sector, nor over numerical plans in general. The civil rights groups who succeeded in obtaining a substantial victory for affirmative action must quickly shift their focus to two new fronts. The hard-fought gains in the Supreme Court must be preserved in Congress, and the gains must be urged upon the private sector.

Last summer, after the split decision in *Bakke*, appropriations riders were introduced in Congress to prevent the Departments of Labor and of Health, Education and Welfare from expending their appropriations in a manner that would enhance the use of any numerical plans in education or employment. The riders passed both houses of Congress. Civil rights groups managed to have the riders deleted during consideration of the bills by the House-Senate Conference Committee. Nonetheless, similar riders have been introduced during this session of Congress.

Assuming that the affirmative action victory in *Weber* is not rolled back in Congress, there remains the substantial effort of convincing private employers to voluntarily adopt and vigorously implement meaningful numerical plans. Most employers and unions do not have numerical plans even remotely resembling the very effective Kaiser Aluminum plan at issue in *Weber*. In fact, in a survey released this spring by the affirmative-action consulting firm of Barnhill-Hayes, Inc., 62 percent of the responding companies stated that an adverse decision in *Weber* would have no effect on their affirmative action plans—meaning that most companies have paper plans which do not include the numerical measures that make affirmative action meaningful.

An invitation has been extended by the Supreme Court in *Weber* to all private employers. It is an invitation to turn the promise of equal employment opportunity for racial minorities and women into reality. Whether private industry will accept the invitation remains to be seen.

E. RICHARD LARSON

E. Richard Larson is national staff counsel with the American Civil Liberties Union. He is the author of the forthcoming book Sue Your Boss *(Farrar, Straus & Giroux).*

JUDGE WATCH 10

Kentucky Feudin'

When Kentucky's Governor Julian Carroll, who has close ties to the White House, called Attorney General Griffin Bell last March, journalistic eyebrows were raised: Carroll's administration is being investigated on corruption charges. Not to worry, Carroll's press secretary assured a reporter from the Louisville *Courier-Journal*; the Governor and the Attorney General did not discuss the investigation. The conversation was strictly about Kentucky's three new Federal judgeships.

The likely result of Carroll's intervention is that a politically connected county prosecutor with questionable qualifications will win appointment over a sitting state judge with a distinguished record. The lesson in Kentucky

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is that the dictates of Presidential politics can still dominate the selection process and that a "merit" commission is no protection from such interference.

Last January, the Federal District Judge selection commission established by Kentucky's Democratic Senators Wendell Ford and Walter Huddleston submitted a list of ten names to the Justice Department. The commission did not rank the candidates but simply put the names into three groupings, which were generally along geographic lines, since the new judges will be situated in the northern, central and easternmost regions of the state. No minority or women candidates were recommended.

Rather than insisting on a reopening of the selection process to correct this deficiency, top White House aides allowed Carroll and Kentucky banker Dale Sights, Carter's 1976 state campaign manager, to designate their three favorites from the commission's list. As might be expected, at the head of this new, shorter list were the two with the best political connections: Lexington attorney Robin Griffin, whose law partner was the local chairman of Carroll's 1975 gubernatorial campaign, and Harlan County prosecutor Green Wix Unthank, a close friend of Carroll's most influential backer in the Harlan County area, businessman N.P. Bingham. The third choice, State Supreme Court Judge Scott Reed, is generally acknowledged to be a first-rate candidate and did not need Carroll's help. The problem is that Reed and Griffin fell into the same geographic grouping, and the nomination of both would have violated the commission's one-judge-per-grouping ground rule.

The Governor's push for Griffin prompted a protest from Senators Ford and Huddleston, who had made a point of maintaining a hands-off policy once the commission was in place. In a March 29 letter to Attorney General Bell objecting to Carroll's abuse of process, the Senators threatened to block the Kentucky nominations if two came from the same grouping.

Faced with the likelihood of a protracted confirmation fight, Bell brokered a compromise slate: Griffin was dropped in favor of State Judge L.T. Grant, who is from the northern grouping omitted by Carroll. But in an apparent move to appease the Governor, Unthank was kept on the final list along with Reed. In early June, President Carter signed off on these choices, clearing the way for background checks by the F.B.I. and the American Bar Association. Then another snag developed when Grant, not wanting to commute the long distance to the courthouse, dropped out as a candidate. He has now been replaced by William Bertelsman, a Republican who is also from the northern grouping. It is worth noting that the remaining candidate in the northern grouping, Democrat Richard Nelson, was strongly opposed for appointment by Kentucky's Democratic establishment.

What Bell failed to take into account in negotiating this deal is that Unthank was found unqualified by the Justice Department's own review. The Justice Department has refused official comment on this matter. It is known, however, that Unthank has been criticized by local defense attorneys as a prosecutor with a conviction-at-any-cost attitude and little respect for the rights of the accused.

In any event, there is no question that Unthank is just not in the same league with State Judge Henry Pennington, the one Republican the commission included in Unthank's geographic grouping. Pennington was chiefly responsible for the 1975 statute reforming Kentucky's antiquated judicial system, and is highly regarded for his fairness on the bench.

Whether the F.B.I., A.B.A. or the background checks by any of the other bar groups will change Carter's mind about the Unthank appointment remains to be seen. It is clear, however, that the manner in which the Kentucky appointments have been handled is not the best advertisement for Carter's "merit" system.

Meanwhile, in North Carolina, Senator Robert Morgan is pressing for the appointment of State Judge Sam Ervin 3d, son of the Senate Watergate Committee chairman, to North Carolina's new seat on the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit. It's not that Ervin, one of five candidates recommended by the Carter-created citizens panel for the Fourth Circuit, is such a bad choice. It's just that there are two other truly outstanding candidates on the list: Federal District Judge James McMillan, author of the landmark *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* desegregation decision, and former State Senator McNeill Smith, long a champion of progressive causes in North Carolina.

Attorney General Bell actually preferred McMillan for the Fourth Circuit seat, but probably would have given in to strong opposition from Morgan and Senator Jesse Helms. The weekend before Morgan publicly announced his support of Ervin in early June, Bell was with Ervin at a golf tournament in North Carolina, so the best guess was that Bell was going to go along with his appointment.

Ultimately, though, it's up to Carter to decide among the five recommended candidates. The Fourth Circuit panel has already made concessions to Morgan and Helms by omitting from their list the name of Julius Chambers, the talented black attorney who is president of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund Inc. And last year Carter himself passed over Chambers and McMillan for a Fourth Circuit vacancy, bowing to the Senators' objections to their liberal credentials.

Carter's decision on the Fourth Circuit spot will test whether the political whims of Senators can still hold sway over Circuit Court appointments.

DOROTHY J. SAMUELS and JAMES A. GOODMAN

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ARTICLES.

COUNTERING COUNTERFORCE

SALT II— A Call to Disarm

MARCUS G. RASKIN

SALT II is an attempt at a joint arms-planning arrangement between the military and national-security bureaucracies of the United States and the Soviet Union. Under the agreement, the Soviets will dismantle 250 strategic but vulnerable missiles. Although the missiles are outmoded, the Soviet commitment should nevertheless be counted as an impressive achievement of American negotiators. On the other hand, SALT II does not touch or transform the institutional structure of the U.S. national-security state, its assumptions or purposes. Nor, for that matter, does it alter the assumptions of the Russian security and military apparatus, or the bureaucratic mind set of its military and national-security planners.

The Soviet interest in signing the SALT II agreement is primarily political. Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders see it as a way of relieving the sense of national encirclement that the U.S.S.R. has harbored for hundreds of years. A grand alliance with the United States has been the goal of Communist leaders since 1945. Brezhnev and Gromyko want to leave the Russian political scene having accomplished what Molotov, Malenkov, Bulganin and Khrushchev failed to bring about.

The support for the treaty by American leaders derives from their perception of it as a means of controlling adventurous elements among politicians and the bureaucracy. SALT II is not intended to change a fundamental tenet of American foreign policy—this country's "leadership of the Free World." Rather, it is based upon the political and tactical grounds of co-opting the more "rational" factions within the national-security bureaucracy into ratification machinery. SALT II is seen as a planning process involving military and national-security groups from the Departments of State and Defense, the Central Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency, as well as the National Security Council. These groups are by and large made up of sober people, conservative in outlook and, within the framework of their world, not "crazy." If the treaty is passed, those who are made a part of the process will be strengthened. They will be assigned "joint planning" responsibilities related to arms control. This involvement might make some of them more open to arms limitations. On the other hand, if there is a defeat of the treaty in the Senate this group's elevation will cease, and the bureaucrats may well conclude that only bellicosity is rewarded.

If the present Democratic leadership wins the 1980 election and there is no treaty, the arms race will proceed at a much faster pace. If the Republicans win with a right-wing nationalist candidate and there is a treaty, it is possible that the SALT II group within the Government will be able to stalemate the war hawks. But if the Republicans win in the absence of a treaty, there will be no such group inside the national-security bureaucracy to brake the inertial momentum toward a more warlike stance or war itself. Further, one cannot expect the Senate to be a moderating voice during this period, because it is likely to have more conservative members after the 1980 elections than it presently has. Almost three times as many Democratic Senators stand for re-election in 1980 as do Republicans.

A move to the political right tinged with nationalist aggressiveness will strengthen American planners and politicians who argue that our willingness to spill blood will prove to the Russians and other political adversaries, as well as to our allies, that this country is determined to retain its world leadership. Under John Connally or Ronald Reagan the pace would be further quickened, and the national-security planners, to please their masters, will seek to resurrect belligerent war plans previously discarded as impractical.

With improved independent technical-intelligence verification of the missile and arms development of the Soviet Union, increased military expenditures for building the MX, the addition of the Trident submarine and submarine-launched ballistic missiles to the fleet, and an increase in the numbers of tactical nuclear weapons and missile-delivery planes in Europe, the chance for a successful first strike in a "controlled" nuclear war against Russia will be seen as much greater than it has been in the past.

One may confidently predict that Russian national-security planners will seek to increase their technical intelligence, including adding a number of bases and listening posts. They will claim that this is the only way to guard against a first strike. They will press ahead in their MIRVing activities and seek bases outside the Soviet Union. The C.I.A. and N.S.A. will likewise demand a quantum leap in their budgets for covert and technical intelligence activities as the price for their initial support of the treaty. This price will get even higher after the treaty is signed. The C.I.A.'s supporters are claiming that it has been almost mortally wounded over the last several years by "irresponsible" attacks. Further, other voices within the military will call for new intelligence listening posts to replace those lost in Iran. Thus, ironically, an increase in the number of U.S. military and intelligence bases will now be justified as necessary for arms control.

Even with the treaty apparatus operating under conditions of the utmost trust between the parties, the inertial direction of the arms race will continue upward. More important will be the fears and hopes of the national-security and political elites in both nations. To justify an in-

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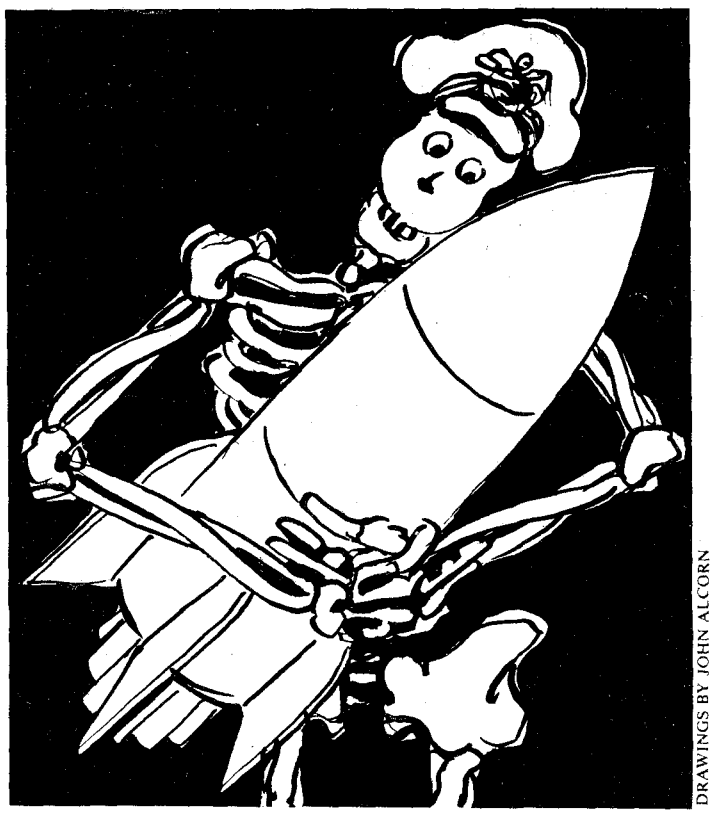
crease in weaponry the conservatives are claiming that it is Russia that can mount a first strike because of its new, heavier MIRV-carrying missiles. It is true that the nature of nuclear war-fighting capability has changed over the last twenty years. American nuclear strategists have convinced their Soviet counterparts to change their defense views from deterrence to a strategy of fighting a nuclear war, and from disarmament to arms control. We taught them the value of MIRVing, pinpoint targeting and smaller nuclear bursts. The Soviet Union has sought, like the United States, to develop nuclear-war options beyond deterrence. This change in doctrine has created the "need" for a larger and more varied system of nuclear missiles. Each side has thousands of its thermonuclear weapons aimed at the other's. Both the Soviet Union and the United States have integrated nuclear missiles into their political and diplomatic strategies as well as their military strategy—even though planners long ago ran out of military targets. The horror is that while it was once thought that nuclear Armageddon would end within several hours, we are now finding serious men talking about controlled wars—long, drawn-out engagements using nuclear weapons. Such wars are neither conceivable nor in either nation's interest. The possibilities of maintaining command and control in the context of nuclear exchange are very low indeed. The likelihood is that communications systems on both sides will be jammed almost immediately, which would result in submarines, bombers and missile crews operating independently of central authority.

The nuclear pirates and marauders with missiles, who will almost certainly appear during a nuclear exchange, would threaten the very existence of the nation-state system. So it is little wonder that even the most cynical of statesmen favor "putting a cap on the arms race," as Henry Kissinger put it when he negotiated the first SALT agreement. "Both sides," Kissinger added, "have to convince their military establishments of the benefits of restraint, and that is not a thought that comes naturally to military people on either side."

The defenders of SALT II usually argue that not supporting the treaty encourages groups like the Committee on the Present Danger and the American Security Council to plump for an even faster-paced arms race, including the testing of each other's will and military might in battle. This is by no means an insignificant argument. The hard-line policy planners who proclaim themselves protectors of Western civilization against the Tartar hordes see the Russians as "teddy bears" who could be defeated in war because they are encircled by the world's most powerful nations and have undependable allies. But the Russians are also portrayed as militarily stronger than ever, expansionist in purpose and paranoid in behavior. Both views sustain the ideologically conservative military planner in his belief that the Russians must be given their comeuppance relatively soon. But the consequences of the defeat of SALT II are not likely to be what former national-security planners like Paul Nitze and Eugene Rostow envisage. Actually, the Senate's rejection of the agreement would cause the U.S.S.R. to feel even more isolated and surrounded. Members of the Politburo who favored détente would surely lose their political power, while the military hard-liners would be in the ascendancy. Soviet leaders would step up their wooing of West Germany, seek to settle differences with China and act as if a war were inevitable. The Soviet war hawks are quite prepared to foment international turbulence, and there will be no disarmament advocates within their bureaucracy to counterbalance them.



DRAWINGS BY JOHN ALCORN

American hawks argue that the United States would win any test of military strength with the U.S.S.R. because we have fought in several wars since 1945, while the Russian military remained untested in battle and has grown rusty. This is usually offered as proof that Soviet leaders will soon test their armed forces.

The war hawks who would rather not be bothered with the niceties of a U.S.-Soviet joint arms-planning arrangement are, however, fearful that a repudiation of SALT II by the Senate will encourage the defense and foreign affairs ministries of other nations to speed up their own military preparations, including nuclear-weapons development. Otherwise they will not be able to defend their territories and interests against incursion and likely war among the great powers. Other nations will take the Senate's rejection as a devil's blessing to build up their own nuclear arsenals.

It is not surprising that even the war hawks among U.S. military planners fear this situation. The nuclear game of chess (or is it poker?) between the Russians and themselves looks stable in comparison to the anarchy of nuclear proliferation and catalytic war situations in which individual nations arm to the teeth and pursue their own ambitions and hatreds. Thus, the SALT II agreement has an important symbolic influence on the direction of the world

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arms race. If the Senate rejects the treaty, war and defense planners in other nations will have all the more reason to conclude that arms control is an empty game.

We thus find ourselves in a tragic dilemma—one in which any action is dangerous and will predictably add to our overall problems. The question becomes whether support for the SALT II agreement will lead to smaller, less disastrous problems than not supporting it. In my view, the answer to this question is yes.

There is, however, a qualifier. This affirmative answer is linked to the manner in which the agreement is supported and the political strategems employed to pass the treaty. Senators Mark Hatfield, George McGovern and William Proxmire are politically correct in questioning whether the treaty would be an advance over the present situation. Their apparent intention is to signal the President that the liberal segment of the Senate will not have its support of this treaty taken as a silent assent to a counterforce or limited-counterforce strategy and a faster arms race.

Recently, Senator Hatfield told President Carter that he was deeply concerned about the Administration's adoption of a counterforce strategy. Hatfield and other Senators have made it clear that the creation of a counterforce arms system would outweigh the benefits of a SALT II agreement. Unfortunately, counterforce was sanctified into official doctrine by then Defense Secretary James Schlesinger in January 1974, and has been the preferred strategy ever since. Already we have purchased weapons to sustain this strategy, and it would be extraordinarily difficult to interrupt it. Even George M. Seignious 2d, the head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the President's chief arms-control adviser, urges that the United States adopt the MX system to assure itself of counterforce capability.

From a progressive perspective the only courses of action are changing the institutionalized military and national-security nature of states—the primary cause of the arms race—and devising policies that offer an alternative to the military's disastrous doctrines. The political questions to be considered thus become:

(*1*) Can conversion planning away from the arms race and toward peaceful economic enterprises take place between the Soviet Union and the United States through diplomatic negotiations, as well as within their respective borders? Is such planning and implementation activity inspectable?

(*2*) Is it possible to make clear statements and undertake actions that show the SALT II agreement is not contradictory to disarmament?

(*3*) Finally, is there a means (such as mass actions) to get across to the hawks that war and war planning are not the highest purposes of civilization, but rather perversions of them, which must be judged as criminal activities? (I realize that the question of liberation struggles against racist and fascist regimes will remain, but from an international standpoint, and from the standpoint of the United States, these struggles are local, and must be judged in the light of the common strivings of humankind for human rights. Besides, there is little prospect of, say, blacks in South Africa using nuclear weapons in their struggle. It is the white South Africans who have the nuclear capability, after all, and who are likely to use it.)

The national debate over SALT II provides an opportunity for organizations to put forward proposals in communities, cities and Congress that point more clearly in the direction of arms limitation than does the agreement that Carter and Brezhnev signed in Vienna. One such proposal would be a resolution or an amendment (the form it would take would depend on the nature of the Senate debate, but preferably an amendment by the Senate) which would make clear that the United States wanted to begin discussions on international conversion and plans to end the arms race. This question would necessarily include pressing proposals for conversion of the present national-security structures that in an automatic, almost unconscious manner produce the arms race. Thus, an amendment to SALT II should be drawn up that outlines immediate steps for joint discussions on conversion, budget limitations and ways to reinstitute the framework of disarmament laid out in the McCloy-Valerian talks of 1962. Those discussions were committed to seeking comprehensive world disarmament in stages.

Second, this amendment should take into account the various resolutions of the United Nations on disarmament and conversion, including the statements of the U.S. representative. This would be the prime signal of a shift in war planning. By highlighting the way that the arms race is institutionalized in the SALT II agreement, we will be exposing its economic and political causes. The policy consequences of armaments that other nations should bear in mind are dramatized in the dollar increases for tactical nuclear weapons, conscription, MX development and so on.

An additional resolution or amendment to the SALT II treaty would place the signatories on record as favoring a moratorium on the design, development, production or acquisition of all major weapons systems. Such an amendment would lead to formal negotiations within the McCloy-Valerian framework, and that of the United Nations disarmament discussion. Another amendment should be drawn up stating that the SALT II agreement is not meant to stimulate military expenditures, weapons development and testing, etc., in areas not covered by immediate agreement. It is likely that this kind of amendment or resolution would have the broadest support within the Senate, and should be the minimal position taken by those in favor of ending the arms race. Resolutions of this nature should also be introduced in the House of Representatives as a way of emphasizing that Congress as a whole wants a disarmament process.

Finally, resolutions should be drawn up making clear that the arms race itself is a moral and political disaster for American and world civilization, that we are all in mortal danger of genocidal crimes against humanity and that we must redouble our efforts to forge a new system of international security. It could be stated in this resolution that the United Nations Charter calls for the formation of an international security committee to fashion a world security

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arrangement. This article of the charter should be referred to in an amendment or resolution. Upon its being made a reality rests the hope that new security arrangements can be devised that will enable world civilization to avoid untold misery without abandoning the human need for liberation. □

THE CORPORATE GUNRUNNERS

South Africa's U.S. Weapons Connections

MICHAEL T. KLARE

For years, opponents of apartheid have charged that vast quantities of American arms were being smuggled to South Africa in defiance of the United Nations embargo. But because these critics could not produce airtight evidence of such transactions, the State Department has always been able to argue that these charges were without foundation. Recently, however, "respectable" Western sources ranging from the British Broadcasting Corporation to *The Washington Post* have confirmed that millions of dollars worth of U.S. arms have reached South African forces via illegal channels. Such deliveries reportedly include howitzers, armored personnel carriers, artillery shells and troop-carrying helicopters. Given the scale of the shipments involved—in some cases involving entire shiploads of 155-millimeter artillery shells—there is no doubt that the U.S. Government has been sorely derelict in carrying out its responsibility to enforce the embargo.

U.S. compliance with the South Africa embargo has always been an uneven affair. Although Washington has prohibited direct sales of conventional military hardware—tanks, missiles, bombers, etc.—it has repeatedly condoned sales of "gray-area" equipment such as helicopters, transport planes and radar sets, which fall into a murky world between military and civilian systems. As reported in *The Nation* a year ago (see Michael T. Klare and Eric Prokosch, "Getting Arms to South Africa," July 8-15, 1978), such items were routinely classified as "noncombat" products and thus exempted from the U.N. embargo. Indeed, during the Nixon Administration, such embargo-relaxing transactions were given White House approval. As a result of such measures, Pretoria has acquired a wide range of U.S. transport, communications and surveillance equipment, greatly enhancing its capacity for long-range commando raids against neighboring black states.

Although Washington has reluctantly acknowledged its role in such gray-area sales, it has always affirmed its commitment to the ban on combat equipment. This commitment, however, applies not only to government-to-government sales under the Pentagon's Foreign Military Sales program, but also to exports by U.S. arms firms—and it is in this area that the problems have occurred. Thus, while there is no evidence of illegal sales under the military sales program, there is evidence of widespread embargo violations by U.S. corporations and their overseas subsidiaries. These and similar transactions by arms firms in other Western countries have enabled Pretoria to acquire an awesome arsenal of modern weapons. "Despite the fifteen-year-old U.N. arms embargo," former NATO Commander in Chief Gen. Sir Walter Walker wrote in 1978, "South Africa has been able to build up an impressive military capability."

Washington cannot, of course, be expected to block every black-market transaction by small-time operators on the fringes of the arms industry; but when such deals involve substantial shipments by major U.S. companies, it is natural to assume that there has been a breakdown in Washington's export control operations. And when such breakdowns occur repeatedly—as the transactions described below suggest—it is appropriate to ask whether they are the result of negligence or design.

The first indication of illegal corporate sales came to light in 1976, when *The New Haven Advocate* revealed that employees of two Connecticut gun companies—the Colt Firearms division of Colt Industries and the Winchester Arms division of the Olin Corporation—had arranged to ship rifles, shotguns and ammunition to South Africa via dummy firms in the Canary Islands, Austria, Greece, West Germany and Mozambique. These disclosures led to several court proceedings, the first of which resulted in a one-year sentence for Walter Plowman, an employee of Colt. Because Plowman pleaded guilty, he was never placed on trial and thus Colt was spared the embarrassment of having its officers testify on the South African deals under oath; in pre-trial hearings, however, Plowman indicated that such transactions were known to be commonplace in the arms industry. Even more revealing was his statement that the State Department regularly "acquiesced" to these sales by "looking the other way" when presented with fraudulent export declarations—a charge that the Federal prosecutor evidently neglected to follow up.

Hints of Government acquiescence to illegal arms deals next arose in the court proceedings against Olin-Winchester, charged with smuggling 3,200 firearms and twenty million rounds of ammunition to South Africa between 1971 and 1975. After pleading nolo contendere (no contest) to a twenty-one-count conspiracy indictment, Olin was ordered to pay $510,000 to charities in New Haven as a form of "reparations" for sabotaging the U.S. policy of opposing apartheid. In a plea for leniency, Olin's lawyers argued that given the patently fraudulent nature of the company's ex-

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port declarations—in some cases hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of shotguns were ostensibly shipped to the Canary Islands, which obviously had a limited market for such hardware—Olin assumed that the State Department "had no serious objection" to these transactions. Such permissiveness was attributed, in the Olin brief, to the Nixon Administration's policy of selectively relaxing the embargo in order to assist covertly the Pretoria regime. "Whatever the actual policy of the U.S. Government was during this period," Olin affirmed, "the Winchester employees principally responsible for dealing with the State Department on export license matters over the years developed the belief that the Department was 'winking' at the representation that arms [actually] sent to South Africa were [supposedly] destined for other countries."

While Government laxity in the Olin cases could be rationalized on the ground that the quantities of arms involved were too small to arouse immediate suspicion, the same cannot be said for the next violation to surface, involving the Space Research Corporation of North Troy, Vt. On November 7, 1978, the British Broadcasting Corporation revealed in a well-documented TV special that S.R.C.—a military research firm with extensive Pentagon contracts—had shipped tens of thousands of 155-millimeter artillery shells to South Africa via ports in Canada, Spain and the Caribbean island of Antigua. The B.B.C. charges were largely confirmed by the U.S. Government, which subsequently impaneled a grand jury in Rutland, Vt., to hear evidence that S.R.C. willfully violated U.S. arms export regulations. Separate investigations are underway in Canada, where S.R.C. maintains extensive facilities, and in the other countries used by S.R.C. to "launder" its illegal arms transactions.

The S.R.C. disclosures are significant both for the scale of the operations involved and the degree of apparent Government negligence. Consider: Between March 1977 and March 1978, S.R.C. sold at least four shiploads of long-range 155-millimeter shells—each shell worth hundreds of dollars—to South African authorities. The first known transactions occurred in March and May of 1977, when S.R.C. sent two shiploads of shells from St. John's, New Brunswick, to Antigua, and then loaded them onto a West German-registered vessel, the *Tugelaland* (actually owned by South African Marine), which later carried them to Cape Town, South Africa. Next, in August 1977, the *Tugelaland* picked up at least 10,000 shells in St. John's and delivered them directly to Cape Town after making a stop in Antigua. Subsequently, in January 1978, S.R.C. trucked 4,500 shells to Canaveral, Fla., where they were loaded onto two U.S. military cargo vessels, the *Inagun Cloud* and the *Star Trek*, and then shipped to Antigua; at this point they were transferred to another vessel and thence carried to South Africa. Finally, in March 1978, S.R.C. shipped 21,000 shells from St. John's to Barcelona, Spain, where they were loaded onto a Dutch ship, the *Breezand*, which then carried them to Durban. In no case was any effort made by U.S. officials to check the validity of S.R.C.'s customs forms or cargo declarations, or to ascertain the ultimate destination of the shells. Such laxity is particularly hard to explain in the case of the Florida shipments, for which S.R.C. apparently obtained a shipping manifest from the Army's Aberdeen Proving Ground exempting the company from normal customs reporting requirements even though S.R.C. no longer had any Army contracts.

Journalists who have investigated the S.R.C. case have uncovered a long history of Government acquiescence to questionable practices. In 1968, Space Research obtained a special permit from the U.S.-Canada Border Commission to operate its own customs site on its 8,000-acre compound, which straddles the Vermont-Quebec border, thus permitting the firm to ship goods from the United States to Canada without undergoing normal customs inspection. "We'd buy stuff on the American side," a former S.R.C. employee told reporters for the Rutland *Herald*, "and shipping and receiving would pick it up and take it to the other side." Customs Service officials who sought to make on-site inspections of these shipments were ordered by their superiors to stay off S.R.C. property. According to the *Herald*, these inspectors were told that "the company enjoys special privileges not allowed to individuals and other businesses." Ostensibly these privileges derived from S.R.C.'s status as a military contractor. "We all assumed that S.R.C. was doing a lot of hush-hush military work," is the way one customs officer put it in an unpublished interview with Vermont reporters.

For most of the past ten years, Pentagon contracts did in fact account for most of S.R.C.'s income—but in recent years such work has dropped off and the company has concentrated on commercial arms transactions. In 1972, S.R.C. and a Belgian firm, Société Générale de Belgique (the parent firm of Belgium's Fabrique Nationale, a leading arms manufacturer) formed Space Research International to market S.R.C.'s long-range 155-millimeter shells abroad. Given S.R.C.'s links with both the Pentagon and the international arms industry, it is easy to see why some experts believe that the company may have been used by the Central Intelligence Agency to smuggle ammunition to Pretoria for use against Cuban-backed forces in Angola. Such speculation is prompted by a statement by John Stockwell, former C.I.A. mission chief in Angola, that the C.I.A. agreed to help the South Africans obtain ammunition for their 155-millimeter howitzers during the Angolan civil war.

Whether or not the C.I.A. was involved in the S.R.C. shipments to South Africa, there can be no doubt that Washington bears some onus for those transactions because of its failure to scrutinize the company's operations as required by law. Such laxness would surely be deemed inexcusable—not to mention inconceivable—if the final destination of the S.R.C. shipments were Russia instead of South Africa. And if, however improbably, such deliveries were made to the U.S.S.R., one would expect swift and harsh retribution. Yet the Federal grand jury now convened in Rutland is meeting only once every three weeks! Surely a violation of U.S. law on this scale—involving the credibility

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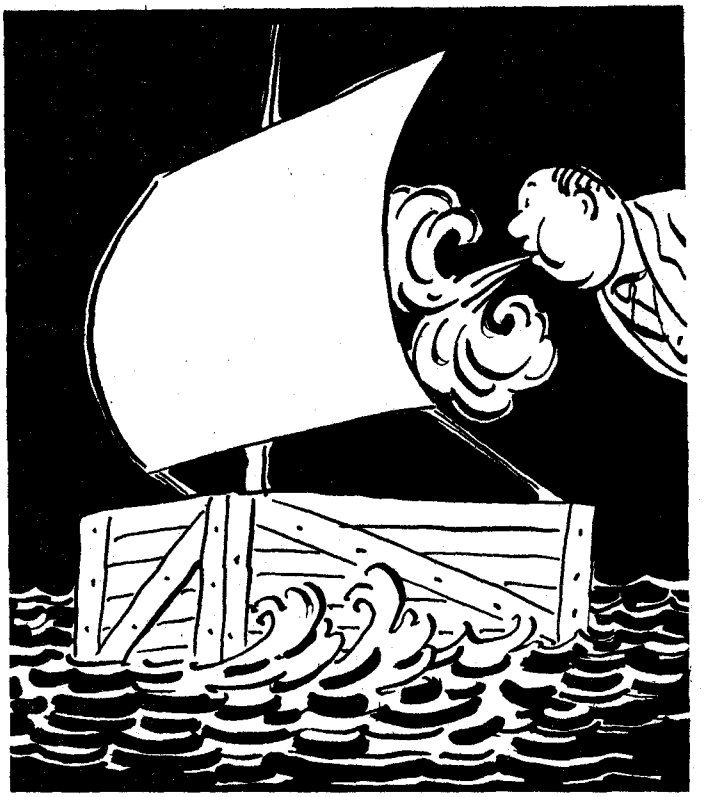
of our Government abroad—calls for more vigorous prosecution.

If the S.R.C. shipments are the largest violations to surface in the past year, they are by no means the only ones. In December 1978, *The Washington Post* reported that "a Western intelligence source" had confirmed that twenty-five "Huey" troop-carrying helicopters were sold to South Africa in 1974 or 1975. The Huey, or UH-1 as it is officially known, was widely used in the Vietnam War to ferry U.S. troops from one jungle battlefield to another. A civilian version of the Huey, designated the 205A, is produced by Bell Helicopter of Fort Worth (a subsidiary of Textron, Inc.) and, under license, by Agusta of Italy. According to the *Post*, it is the latter firm which apparently produced the Hueys sold to South Africa. But while the principal culprit here may have been an Italian firm, U.S. law holds that any foreign-built Hueys (or other weapons of U.S. design) are subject to the same export restrictions as those built in the United States. Since, however, the helicopters supplied to South Africa were of the civilian, 205A type, the State Department is apparently not taking action against companies involved.

Such third-country transactions, involving overseas subsidiaries or affiliates of U.S. corporations, also figure in other recent disclosures of illegal arms smuggling to South Africa. In its December 1978 issue, *Armies & Weapons* magazine reported from Monaco that the South African Army has acquired "a sizable batch" of U.S. M-113 armored personnel carriers and M-109 self-propelled 155-millimeter howitzers. Both weapons are produced under license by OTO Melara, a leading Italian arms firm, and *Armies & Weapons* suggested that the South African M-113s and M-109s were "almost certainly built in Italy by OTO Melara." Although other experts have charged that South Africa has obtained U.S.-designed M-113s and M-109s from Italy—most recently economist and African affairs specialist Sean Gervasi in his 1977 testimony before the House International Relations Committee—this was the first confirmation of such deliveries by a source friendly to Pretoria. U.S. Embassy officials in Rome are reportedly investigating the *Armies & Weapons* story, but Washington has not as yet confirmed the M-113/109 transfers.

In addition to these reports of illegal arms deliveries, there have also been a series of disclosures concerning illegal transfers of military technology and major communications equipment. Such reports are particularly significant because while South Africa is becoming increasingly self-sufficient in the production of conventional military gear—rifles, armored personnel carriers, artillery, etc.—it is still highly dependent on the West for its advanced electronics and computer systems. So long as Pretoria has access to imported Western technology, it can rely on domestic sources for its basic military hardware.

South Africa is especially deficient in the area of computer technology, and so it is not surprising that Pretoria has made a concerted effort to acquire advanced computers from the West. And because such equipment is not explicitly covered by the U.N. embargo, Washington has tended to be



relatively lenient in regulating such sales—even those that have obvious military implications. For instance, in 1976 *The Washington Post* disclosed that the Commerce Department had allowed the Foxboro Company of Foxboro, Mass., to sell two giant computers to the South African Energy Board for use at its Pelindaba nuclear enrichment plant—reportedly the site of Pretoria's secret nuclear weapons program.

Under new export guidelines adopted by the Carter Administration in February 1978, U.S. firms are no longer permitted to sell computers or other support equipment to South African military and police agencies. Nevertheless, there are some American companies that have already violated this new injunction. In March 1979, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* revealed that Control Data Corporation of Minneapolis had supplied computer subsystems to a British firm, International Computers Ltd., for use in a large computer system being produced for the South African police. This system is reportedly to be used for enforcement of Pretoria's notorious pass laws, a key instrument of the apartheid system. According to the *Post-Dispatch*, Control Data officials were aware that the sale to the British firm would violate the Administration's new guidelines.

Other U.S. firms reportedly involved in illegal technology transfers to South Africa include Sanders Associates of Nashua, N.H., and the now infamous Space Research Corporation. In 1976, Sanders requested and received a license from the State Department to supply South Africa with a sophisticated $150 million ocean surveillance system. The license was later revoked by the Carter Administration in line with its new export controls, but according to *Africa News*, there are indications that Sanders or an allied firm

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delivered some of the equipment through regular civilian channels.

In addition to supplying artillery shells, the Space Research Corporation has also provided Pretoria with the technology to manufacture its own guns. S.R.C. employees have been known to work with Armscor, South Africa's Government-owned munitions company, and they may have played a role in the design of Armscor's new 155-millimeter howitzer, the G-5. And while Pretoria insists that the G-5 is of South African design, most experts believe that it incorporates foreign technology—which, given the S.R.C. connection, may well be American.

From all that we have learned about covert arms sales, it is hard to believe that these are the only instances of illegal U.S. exports to South Africa. In many cases, it was only through chance or coincidence that reporters learned of the particular cases described above. It is safe to assume, therefore, that we will witness more such revelations in the years ahead. But we needn't await additional disclosures before concluding that U.S. officials have been inexcusably negligent in their enforcement of the embargo on South Africa. Indeed, as we have seen, there has been for years a pattern of laxity in enforcement of the embargo, which has allowed U.S. companies to circumvent the measure with relative impunity. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that corporate officials acquired the impression—as suggested by the Olin brief—that Washington "had no serious objection" to such transactions.

Seen in the best possible light, such negligence suggests a consistent indisposition on the part of Washington to take the kinds of steps necessary to assure full compliance with the U.N. embargo; seen in the worst light, it bespeaks an unofficial policy of covertly aiding the Pretoria regime by acquiescing to illegal arms deliveries. At this point, there is insufficient evidence to determine which of these interpretations is the correct one; but whichever the case, it is obvious that the question of illegal arms transfers merits a full-scale investigation by Congress or the Justice Department to determine whether there was any official misconduct in the implementation of U.S. export restrictions.

Such a probe is also needed to determine whether U.S. corporations received any of the funds reportedly spent by Armscor to facilitate violations of the embargo. While many Americans now know that Pretoria's Information Ministry established a secret fund to promote pro-apartheid views in the United States and other Western countries (the so-called "Muldergate" operation, named after former Information Minister Cornelius Mulder), few know that Armscor has a similar fund for use in obtaining foreign arms. According to respected British journalist Anthony Sampson, the Armscor fund included "money for bribes and commissions" and "was far bigger than Mulder's slush fund." At this point, it is not known whether any of these funds were spent in the United States, but since the United States was a major target for the Muldergate operation it is reasonable to assume that it was likewise a target for Armscor's secret dealings.

When asked last November about S.R.C.'s illegal arms shipments to South Africa, President Carter replied that he was unaware of such transactions but would look into the matter. "If it is true," he told the White House press corps on November 16, 1978, "it would be in direct violation of the pledged word of honor of the nations involved, certainly including all those who voted for the arms embargo against South Africa through the United Nations." Few could argue with this characterization of America's responsibility; sadly, however, we have yet to see the kind of investigation needed to ascertain the cause and extent of Government negligence in its enforcement of the U.N. embargo and to identify all the gaps in the U.S. enforcement machinery which must be filled if Washington is to assure full compliance with the U.N. measure. □

Big Oil

(Continued From Front Cover)

a big increase over 1978 figures—and that American firms, in this very time of supposed crisis, were actually exporting more oil than they had in 1978.

Let's explore some of this data in greater depth before getting into the questions of how and why the nation was thrown into chaos with gas lines sometimes miles long; with truckers staging a nationwide protest against the high price and scarcity of diesel fuel; with some farmers plowing under crops because they could not get trucks to transport them.

When President Carter came down from the Mount, he thumped the table in the Oval Office and announced that he was not going to permit the importation of a single gallon of oil more than we had imported in 1977. What the public and practically all of the commentators didn't know was that we imported so much oil in 1977 that Big Oil suffered acute glut pains and couldn't get those damned prices up.

The American Petroleum Institute is the official spokesman for the industry. Its figures are accepted without question by the Department of Energy because they are the only figures the D.O.E. has. Other sources suspect that the Petroleum Institute's statistics often gild the lily for Big Oil, which is only to be expected. However, with this caveat, look at what the industry's own figures show: Total crude oil stocks in millions of barrels at year's end 1977 reached 339.859, a 19.1 percent increase over 1976. At year's end 1978, total stocks had dropped to 314.462, a decrease of 7.5 percent, bringing us into 1979 with a potentially short situation.

But, as in almost every facet of this story, things weren't what they seemed. In addition to the normal crude oil supplies, the Federal Government has established a Strategic Petroleum Reserve. Into this reserve, stored in salt domes in Louisiana, it has poured literally billions of gallons of imported oil; and the Department of Energy, with its usual

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efficiency, has dumped all that oil into the caverns without thinking about installing pumps to get it out.

If one includes the extra millions of barrels that were committed to this strategic reserve in 1978, the figures on the nation's total petroleum stocks, expressed in millions of barrels, read this way: 381.322 at end of 1978 compared with 347.689 at the end of that 1977 "glut" year. In other words, the nation came into 1979 with 9.7 percent more crude stocks on the market and in the reserve than it had had at the start of 1978, when the industry was moaning because it had so much oil it couldn't even get gasoline prices up to the permitted ceilings. It is enough to make one ask, "What the devil goes on here?" What went on is fairly obvious, though only the naïve would expect to get a straight answer from Dr. James R. Schlesinger's Department of Energy.

In January and February 1978, when I first began to poke my nose into the oil situation, I was intrigued and angered by the fact that No. 2 home-heating oil, which for at least half a century has been one of the cheapest products of the refineries, was selling at prices that made it more expensive than the more highly refined regular gasoline, once one discounted 12-cent-a-gallon state and Federal taxes on gasoline (see Cook, "The Great Heating Oil Price Mystery," *The Nation*, January 6-13, 1979). My inquiries brought the reply from industry sources and from the D.O.E. through my Congressman that there was virtually a price war on for gasoline because there was so much of it. Heating oil, however, had been decontrolled in the last days of the Ford Administration; the homeowner, anchored in place by his furnace, couldn't shop around—and so he was zapped.

Given this untidy situation, Big Oil drew down stocks during 1978 and by late fall had created a situation in which there began to be alarming talk of shortages. Shell Oil led the way, imposing drastic cuts on the delivery of gasoline to its retailers; Mobil, Citgo, the whole tribe fell into line behind the force play. Retail gasoline dealers roared their outrage; there was a nasty flareback of damaging publicity, and the big oil companies backed off for the moment, restoring deliveries to nearly normal.

Then, heaven sent, came the Iranian revolution, which closed down the oil fields. The myth of the "Iranian shortfall" was born. Actually, only 5 percent of our imported oil came from Iran, and this shortage was quickly offset by stepped-up production in Saudi Arabia, increased Alaskan supplies and lesser increases from other sources. C.I.A. figures show that free world production, expressed in thousands of barrels daily, rose to 46.515 in the first quarter of 1979 compared with 46.305 in 1978. Customs figures, as recorded by the Census Bureau, show that imports through May increased 10 percent over those for the first five weeks of 1978. Indeed, the imports for these first five months of 1979 almost matched the levels established in the glut year of 1977. The C.I.A. in-depth study echoed the Customs Service's findings. It showed imports in the first five months of 1979 outstripping those of 1978. During the first three months, imports averaged well over eight million barrels a day, and in April and May they were only slightly below that figure. By contrast, in 1978 imports reached the eight-million-barrel-a-day figure in only two of the first five months, and in the remaining months they trailed considerably behind the 1979 import figures.

The C.I.A. assessment revealed another curious fact. In this 1979 year of "crisis," American firms actually exported more oil in every one of the first five months than they had in either 1977 or 1978. Exports ranged from 329,000 barrels daily in January to 445,000 barrels daily in both April and May. Yet in lush 1977, exports had ranged from only 192,000 barrels daily to 288,000. The fact that we were actually exporting more oil in 1979 than we had in the two previous noncrisis years would seem to indicate manipulation of the market. This suspicion, shared by more than two-thirds of the American people, according to public opinion polls, is reinforced when one reads the Federal Trade Commission memo of May 30. Reporting on a study made by the commission's staff, the memo said: "The data indicates, among other things, that gasoline supplies in 1979 were up by 4-8 percent, depending on the time period, over 1978's. Net supply of gasoline in April was particularly plentiful compared to the previous April (up by 22.9 percent). Significantly, however, every time period—month, quarter, third—shows increased supplies and no indication of a shortage." Not only were supplies of gasoline more plentiful in 1979, but demand was down. According to figures from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Paris, U.S. oil consumption in the period from January to April 1979 was nearly 1 percent below the level of the same period in 1978.

Yet it was in late April and early May that the gasoline pumps in California suddenly went dry, beginning the drought that was to spread across the nation to New York, Washington, D.C., and cities in between. In a nation whose whole economy since World War II has been structured around networks of superhighways on which Federal and state governments have lavished billions of dollars, panic struck, accompanied by frustration and fury. The evidence establishes that none of this was necessary; it suggests that this was a "crisis" carefully orchestrated by Big Oil, aided and abetted by the complacent non-watchdog in the D.O.E. And even by President Carter himself—a President who has in his public pronouncements consistently followed the line set down by Big Oil.

Jack Anderson, the Washington columnist, has published excerpts from secret White House minutes indicating that President Carter deliberately cut back gasoline supplies to keep his pledge to other industrial nations that the United States would reduce oil consumption by 5 percent. At a May 7 meeting, just as motorists were queuing up for miles in California, Carter told his Cabinet: "Our priority will continue to be some heating, agriculture and emergency needs over highway driving. . . . There will be less gasoline, and it

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will cost more." Those last words confirm Jack Anderson's scoop. They match word for word the public Presidential refrain that all of us have heard for months: "There will be less gasoline, and it will cost more."

Cost more! That is what this scenario is all about. The Carter Administration for months has backed every move that would make gasoline and other fuel products more costly, on the theory that higher prices would "force" conservation. For months, the Administration talked about $1-a-gallon gasoline. Privately, it was scripting an even more brutal program.

Jerry Ferrara, the outspoken executive director of the New Jersey Retail Gasoline Dealers Association, described in a television appearance on July 2 how he and his associates had "pounded on every door" in Washington seeking the adoption of a more sensible policy. He said he had met face to face with Dr. Schlesinger, and he added: "He [Schlesinger] said that if gasoline got up to $2 a gallon by 1981, the American people would have to conserve. And then he walked out of the room."

Virtually every tactic imaginable has been employed by the oil companies to generate the atmosphere of shortages and crisis that would open the floodgates of price. One of the most ingenious involved the stockpiling of crude and finished products on tankers dawdling at sea. Spokesmen for the maritime workers who man the tankers aver that big oil companies sent out word that their tankers were to steam at no more than 10 knots instead of the 16 to 17 they are capable of doing. "When tankers are reduced to 10 knots," one maritime spokesman says, "a voyage from Beaumont, Tex., to Boston that would usually take five days stretches out to nine. And when you have whole fleets of tankers out there, loaded with hundreds of thousands of gallons each, you are stockpiling a lot of stuff on the high seas." Not until the middle of June, another maritime spokesman says, did "one major oil company reverse its orders" and let its tankers steam at 16 to 17 knots.

The stall at sea has been matched by stalls in port. Turnaround time in port, which used to take from sixteen hours to one day, now frequently stretches to two or two and a half days. Sometimes refineries say they have no cargo ready to ship; at other times ships loaded with refined products come into port and find storage tanks so full that there is no way to unload. In one instance, a tanker loaded with regular and unleaded gas made the voyage from Beaumont to Florida, found no facility able to take its cargo—and went back to Beaumont with some 350,000 barrels of undelivered fuel. (Oil sources, confirming the incident, say the tanker returned with only a little more than 100,000 barrels in its hold and that it is not unusual for a tanker to return with part of its cargo. Maritime workers disagree.)

The stockpiling at sea and the delays in port are just a couple of the ploys that have helped to produce the oil panic of 1979. The oil industry, it would appear, had a couple of other even more important maneuvers up its sleeve. Justice Department antitrust lawyers have been trying to find out why it was that just at this time of supposed shortages, domestic crude oil production in the United States went into its steepest decline in seven years. In a preliminary and relatively unnoticed report, Justice Department attorneys concluded that, from December through April, the falloff in domestic drilling had cost the nation some eleven million barrels of gasoline. Since there are forty-two gallons to the barrel, that represents a lot of gasoline. This falloff in domestic production came at a time when oil company profits in the first quarter of 1979 were going through the roof. While the companies were demanding price decontrol as a prerequisite for increased domestic production, first quarter profits at Exxon were already up 37 percent; Gulf's were up 61 percent and other majors like Standard Oil of Ohio were registering increases of more than 300 percent.

The drop in domestic drilling was accompanied by a second cutback, a reduction of refinery output. "That is where it all hangs out," one industry critic says. It does indeed. Refineries capable of operating at 91 to 92 percent of capacity (this is virtually full-out considering inevitable maintenance delays) dropped their runs in this season of our travail to a bare 84 percent. The American Petroleum Institute itself acknowledged that, in the second week of June, refineries were operating at only 84.1 percent of capacity. The following week, the runs were stepped up to 84.5 percent—still far below capacity at a time when, all reliable evidence shows, crude stocks were in plentiful supply, waiting to be processed.

The situation infuriated Representative Benjamin S. Rosenthal (D., N.Y.), chairman of the Subcommittee on Commerce, Consumer and Monetary Affairs of the powerful House Committee on Government Operations. It also upset Dr. Schlesinger, who confessed in June that he found the disparity between abundant crude oil stocks and low refinery runs "distressing" and "disturbing." He threatened action against oil companies that had poor refinery performance.

The sequel is perhaps best told in the words of Representative Rosenthal as recorded in the *Congressional Record* of June 29. The Congressman said:

> Following the hearing on June 14, Secretary of Energy Schlesinger admitted that we had more than adequate oil inventory stock and that he would undertake to use the Department of Energy's allocation authority to urge recalcitrant refiners in the direction of serving the consuming public. . . . On Thursday, June 24, Secretary Schlesinger reversed his stand, expressing fear that the U.S. multinational oil companies might retaliate by withholding oil from the United States. Thus, it becomes obvious that much of the blame for the current gasoline shortages must also be ascribed to deliberate actions by the oil companies and the Department of Energy. This "blackmail" threat by the U.S. multinational oil companies that ship crude oil to Europe instead of to the United States calls for a vigorous response by this Nation.

It would be difficult to find a clearer demonstration of the power of the oil forces that hold this nation in thrall, but what Representative Rosenthal called "this 'blackmail' threat" is not the only indication of the contempt in which Big Oil holds the Government and the people of the nation.

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In November and December 1978, New Jersey's Commissioner of Energy, Joel R. Jacobson, conducted a series of hearings in which he tried to get the major oil companies to justify the prices they were charging for heating oil. The oil companies squirmed, dodged, protested they didn't have the information—and then defied him. "They say that's proprietary information to which we are not entitled," Jacobson said.

New York State's energy commissioner, James Larocca, ran into a similar stonewall, and now the oil companies are endeavoring to stonewall the Federal Government. Assistant Attorney General Barbara Allen Babcock described Big Oil's obstructionism to the Subcommittee on Energy and Power of the House of Representatives on June 29. Ms. Babcock explained that the Energy Information Administration of the D.O.E. had set up a Financial Reporting System in an effort to determine just what is happening and why. Congress had specifically authorized the E.I.A. to collect information from "major energy-producing companies" on company revenues, profits, cash flow, investments and other information, including "costs associated with exploration, development, production and other energy-related functions within each company."

The E.I.A., through its Financial Reporting System, finally drafted a fifty-page document which was sent to twenty-seven major energy-producing companies, directing them to file answers covering their 1977 operations by April 1, 1979. Instantly this information-collecting agency of D.O.E. ran into Big Oil's roadblock. Shell Oil went into Federal court in Delaware, seeking an injunction to keep the D.O.E. from doing what Congress had authorized it to do. Shell was joined in the action by Texaco, Phillips, Gulf, Mobil, Union, Continental and Coastal States Gas. There were two prongs to the companies' legal assault: first, they wanted the Federal court to issue an injunction preventing D.O.E. from collecting information; second, if D.O.E. should be permitted to collect data, the oil companies wanted them to be barred from disseminating it to anyone—to other Government agencies or even to Congress. "The plaintiff companies are particularly concerned that the Antitrust Division and the Federal Trade Commission be denied access to F.R.S. data because they believe it could lead to antitrust enforcement actions against them," Ms. Babcock testified.

A compromise of sorts was reached under which the oil companies agreed to fill out the D.O.E.'s questionnaires and D.O.E. agreed not to let any other agency see the information before August 1, when arguments for an injunction forbidding dissemination will be resumed in Federal court in Delaware. It would seem that an industry that has repeatedly avowed it has nothing to hide has gone to an irrational extreme to hide that "nothing."

The intransigience of Big Oil and its concern that its members might be hit with antitrust actions if the truth about its activities ever gets out are perfectly understandable to many average Americans whose pocketbooks have been riddled while oil company profits have escalated.

Fuel oil, first priced at 49.5 cents a gallon in late spring

1978, has jumped in a year to more than 70 cents, with the prospect that it will be priced at between 80 and 90 cents this coming winter. Regular gasoline, which as late as February was selling at 59.9 cents (only a few cents more than untaxed heating oil), now sells for from 89.9 to 91 cents. Unleaded and super-unleaded (the latter needed in many cars to avoid damaging knocks from low-octane unleaded) have zoomed in price at some stations to $1.45 or more.

This brutal escalation, which puts Dr. Schlesinger's $2 gasoline in our immediate future, has been achieved through the delightful collaboration between Dr. Schlesinger's D.O.E. and the oil industry. All during 1978, when the gas glut made it impossible to sell gasoline at ceiling prices, individual gas station owners were allowed to "bank" the differential on their records. Came 1979, the "shortage," zooming OPEC prices; and, with frustrated motorists on gas lines willing to pay anything, those deferred, spurious "banked" sums were tacked onto the already zooming prices. As usual, the consumer got zonked. The D.O.E. has now ended this banking system, but prices have already been driven to levels from which it is almost certain they will never come down.

Summing it all up, one analyst in Washington observed: "The Department of Energy must be either the most stupid or the most influenced department the Federal Government ever created. The only thing is, you would think that if they were just being stupid, they would make a mistake once in a while in favor of the consumer. But they never do."

All of this has taken place during the Administration of a President who, in his first fireside chat in 1977, pleaded with the average American to sacrfice for the national good. Wear heavier sweaters. Turn down the thermostat. Car pool. Drive at slower speeds. "Sacrifice" one and all, like a band of brothers for everyone's good and the national

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welfare. Coming down from the Mount in July, the President was still saying that if we all band together and sacrifice, we can lick the devil dogs of OPEC. One has to wonder where the President has been all these years. Whatever gave him the idea that Big Oil considers itself part of a national brotherhood? The record is undeniable: Big Oil has just one concern—the bottom line. When it comes to sacrifice, let the poor average American schnook do it.

As I wrote earlier in this series of articles in *The Nation*, the Big Oil-D.O.E.-Carter prescription to force conservation by raising oil prices to outrageous levels boggles the mind by its bland ignoring of the obvious. The most basic common sense tells you that if you manufacture a shortage and send prices through the roof in an atmosphere of panic, you are giving the Arab sheiks of OPEC a seller's market beyond their wildest dreams.

The latest severe OPEC price hike, announced while President Carter and leaders of the industrial nations were conferring in Tokyo, seems to have shocked these statesmen to the tips of their toes. One has to marvel. Before the previous price increase earlier in the year, OPEC spokesmen had put the blame squarely on the consuming nations, and Radio Riyadh, before this last bit of extortion, returned to the theme by charging that oil shortages were due to "the operation by certain major powers of huge stockpiles [those salt domes in Louisiana?] or price manipulations by the companies." What the Arabs were saying quite clearly was: "You asked for it, and you'll get it." A Swiss oil expert who is dealing in the free-floating "spot" market centered in Rotterdam made this very point in an interview with Anthony Sampson, the well-known author and critic of the Seven Sisters. Said the Swiss expert: "It's incredible—we keep on asking for a higher price and they keep on accepting it. . . . You know, it's fun making a high offer for a cargo of oil and then finding the same offer coming back to you from the other side of the world two hours later. . . ."

The damage that has been done to the American economy, now sinking into a recession, or even (in economist Eliot Janeway's view at least) plunging into a deep depression, is at this moment incalculable. But it should have been obvious to the dullest economic student that the Big Oil-D.O.E.-Carter high-price/conservation squeeze could only unleash the wild inflation that has been running at around 14 percent; could only crimp American incomes and slash purchasing power; could only lead to layoffs and rising unemployment without, as was demonstrated in the Nixon-Ford years, curbing the inflation spiral.

Undeniably, the United States is in an intolerable bind. The 1973-74 Arab boycott demonstrated that national economic welfare and even national policies are at the mercy of the sheiks of OPEC as long as we rely on imported oil for at least 50 percent of our petroleum supplies. The obvious solution, both five years ago and now, lies in developing alternative fuels that would give OPEC the kind of competition the free-enterprise system used to advocate. Brazil took this route five years ago by developing a massive gasohol-alcohol program. We did nothing. Now President Carter has called, for the first time, for a synthetic-fuels program, but one that seems to place major emphasis on shale oil and coal liquefaction. Both of these programs, of course, would be managed by the big multinational oil companies whose welfare, as has been demonstrated, can hardly be equated with the welfare of the nation.

Even the President admits that it may be 1990—or possibly the year 2000—before such new processes can make any significant impact. In the meantime, simpler and possibly more effective alternatives that promise a quicker solution to our problems seem to excite little official interest. In early May, a Florida inventor, Ralph Moody, drove to Washington in a radically altered, diesel-powered 1979 Mercury Capri that, road tests showed, delivered more than eighty miles to a gallon. Official interest was tepid. A California inventor has been running sixteen Chevrolets for a year on liquid hydrogen produced at less than 50 cents a gallon from water through a solar photovoltaic cell process. D.O.E. has refused to test such vehicles, arguing that "it is impractical to operate large numbers of hydrogen-fueled vehicles on a convenient and economic basis at this time."

And then, of course, there remains the well-tested alcohol alternative. Eliot Janeway, for one, thinks that the President's emphasis is all wrong. He believes the nation cannot wait in OPEC bondage until 1990 or 2000. Alcohol, he insists, can be produced quickly and in such quantities that it would have an almost immediate impact. "I would dump alcohol on the heads of OPEC," he has said. And on the heads of the moguls of Big Oil, too? □

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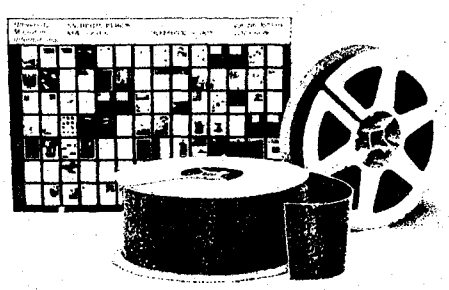

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Notes on Literary Hype

RICHARD GILMAN

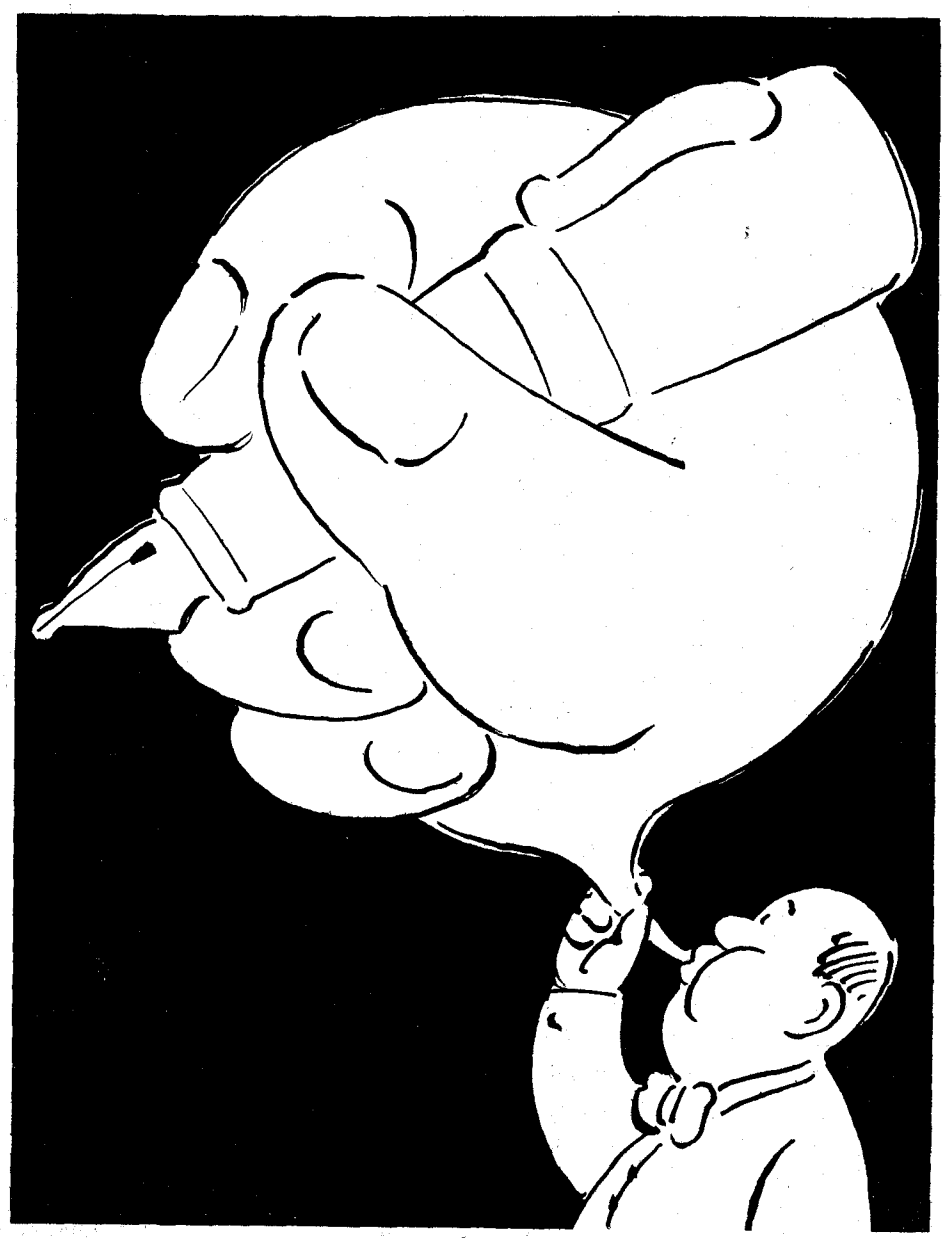
The word "hype," we sometimes forget, derives from "hyperbole," but it isn't simply a short convenient form like "disco" or "perk," though it emerges from the same world. Hyperbole, to take that up first, is from the Greek for "excess," and has always been an activity of the civilized mind, a luxurious element of culture. By this I mean that men exaggerate, are excessive in their estimations and descriptions, as one way of demonstrating their superiority to the given world. Nature is what it is; human beings, as more than one philosopher has asserted, are both in and out of nature and have the power to be—or seem—more than they are, through language and thought. And this power can issue on the one hand in mere lying, of which exaggeration is a relatively innocuous form, and on the other in art, philosophy and religion, all of which might be described as lying in the interest of truth.

Even when it's arrant aggrandizement, the boastings of a Munchausen, hyperbole testifies in an odd manner to value and truth themselves, rather in the way hypocrisy does to virtue. There are whole realms where hyperbole is unobjectionable and even endearing. When Bernal Diaz wrote that the arrival of Cortez's expedition at the great capital of the Aztecs was the most important event since the birth of Christ, he was practicing hyperbole, to be sure, but one doesn't want to object. When we are told that Helen's face launched a thousand ships, we know it was probably only a dozen or so, but the exaggeration works poetically and is accepted that way.

"Hype" of course retains this action of exaggeration, but its implications and uses are notably different from its parent's, both much narrower and far more sinister. With its sharp staccato sound and aura of having been coined by three men in Gucci loafers, the word is aggressive, knowing, modish. It smells of nothing but the public world, indeed of just those virtues that are pitted against private ones: size, power, numbers. It speaks of commerce, things being peddled. There's nothing obscure about its central meaning: excessiveness for the purpose of creating an artificial demand or of pumping up such demand as may exist.

Now, only the most naïve and idealistic still expend energy decrying hype as it's practiced in the ordinary world of business. No product, breakfast food or luxury car comes to us as a simple object; everything arrives in a cloud of promises, a swirl of adjectives. We're so inured to this that it can be counterproductive, "it's just hype" being a common response to much advertising. What's disturbing, though, and still seems worthy of protest, is the way in which hype has more and more invaded a precinct we continue to wish might be immune to its corruptions. When literature, ostensibly *serious* writing, is propelled by hype, thrust by it into regions where discriminations collapse and esthetic values begin to feel like anachronisms, the barbarian's hand is on the doorknob.

The idea that the novel is dead is still somewhere around, but any reader of



Richard Gilman is the author of Decadence: The Strange Life of an Epithet *(Farrar, Straus & Giroux).*

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our major newspapers and magazines for the past several months can be forgiven for thinking that we've entered an absolutely gorgeous new age of fiction. This is plainly the result of hype. Week after week we have been made acquainted with another masterpiece, another "stunning," "gripping," "haunting" or "majestic" work of fiction. The list is certain to grow, but already this year we have had one degree or another of magnificence claimed for books by Cheever, Malamud, Naipaul, Hardwick, Heller and Styron. And we have had stiff or jolly interviews with all of them, offered, one can think, for that "personalization" which is one of the chief marks of hype in every area these days.

In the case of two or three of these books everyone rushes to get behind the juggernauts in order to increase their already thunderous velocity. Bookstores, most of them run by sheep (and naturally for profit), fill their windows with flamboyant displays of literary hagiolatry. Talk show hosts vie for these writers, some of whom appear in shopping centers and lend themselves to intimate profiles, managing their careers as though they were rock stars.

I am not writing literary criticism here. Still, I've read three of these books and parts of the others, and I can say that whatever their respective merits (and these vary extremely), they are surely as a group undeserving of such accolades and such attention. Anyone can say this without having read any of them, for it goes violently against literary history and common sense that a half-dozen masterpieces, or even memorable works, should be produced in one society in a couple of months. The truth is we're not in an especially fecund age, or even season, of fiction, and we never are; great novels, like great works of any kind, are hard-won, isolated, unaccountable.

This doesn't mean that there aren't good, serviceable novels and stories being written; we're not in a depressed period of fiction either. What's at issue is that books of varying quality aren't allowed to announce their own virtues (and reveal their defects), to find their audiences through that kind of osmosis by which culture spreads, or used to. Their merchandising has become like that of any object for sale, which has the effect of turning them from creations into products. And a great pressure is exerted to eliminate the sobering and reflective factor of time: these books must be granted their status at once.

This brings up further points about hype. In its operation nothing can be trusted to declare itself by simply being what it is (and in the case of a couple of the writers I've mentioned the hype is designed precisely to protect their works from being truly seen) and there is no "later," for the future is full of peril. Marked by mistrust and impatience, in its most central immorality hype is a manipulation of the forgivable impulse behind hyperbole, which is to transcend, provisionally and in creative excess, the limits of the real world. Hyperbole is a form of imaginative control, while hype is a blow against reality. The truth is always exhibited in hyperbole as the ground from which it departs, but hype elbows truth aside and replaces it.

That publishers, booksellers and certain authors should be guilty of hype may be deplorable but it isn't mysterious. When the process moves beyond those with an immediate stake in a book's success to catch up the presumably disinterested—reviewers, critics and editors—then hype becomes a more oblique and imponderable kind of corruption. There isn't any conspiracy, nor is the question mainly one of an opportunistic leap onto bandwagons. What exists, however, is an atmosphere that appears difficult or impossible to resist, a climate of expectation and desire in which hype begins to operate almost unconsciously.

The matter is complex and I only want to make a few points here. To begin with, if nature abhors a vacuum, culture detests one just as much. We need "important" novels as we do important works of every sort. We have to think that the requirements of culture are being met, that significant "statements" about our condition continue to be made and that the imagination is winning its fight against darkness. Where there are no such books in actuality we seize on what there is and inflate it to the status that we require.

This is what we can call the "high road" that reviewers and editors take toward their participation in literary hype. The "low road" moves through those regions where one of our besetting intellectual sins raises its monuments. This is our infatuation with hierarchies, which stems, it would seem, from the conviction that nothing of value can exist in its own right, without comparisons, so that things and people have to be graded, fixed along a scale. It's as though we mark culture along a curve, the way some teachers do their classes.

There is finally the matter of reputation. A first novel may be praised, even hyped, but the real energy goes into the inflation of new works by the established. George Jean Nathan once said that, "deny it as they will, American drama critics are heavily biased in favor of reputation," and the indictment covers literary critics as well. There's sometimes a sentimental strain in such bias—a "big" writer fallen on hard times may be praised beyond his new book's merits. But more often reputation works simply to overcome any possible resistance; the name, effulgent, resonant, a source of value *in itself,* drags the book in its wake.

A recent incident struck me as a nearly perfect epiphany of the results of literary hype. In a Madison Avenue bookstore catering to the carriage trade, I heard the crisp young manager call to a matron examining a table of best sellers, "Did'ya like *Sophie's Choice*?" to which she replied, "Loved it." "Knew you would," he threw back over his shoulder. Everything—the setting, the brisk, assured tones—convinced me I was witnessing the outcome of hype. For this was no thoughtful old-fashioned bookseller and I couldn't believe an idea had ever passed between him and his customer. Whatever the worth of Styron's book, he *knew* she would love it because she was supposed to, because everybody did or was supposed to. In an atmosphere like this not to love the book is to be churlish, almost treasonable; the strategy of hype is to put nonbelievers under a cloud and make dissent an act of misanthropy. □

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Giving It Away

BENITA EISLER

NANCY CUNARD: A Biography. *By Anne Chisholm. Alfred A. Knopf. 400 pp. $15.*

"You were silly like us:" Auden eulogized W.B. Yeats. "Your gift survived it all/The parish of rich women, physical decay/Yourself." Notice, in a classic case of poetic injustice, what leads the list. As though Lady Gregory hadn't provided, over the years, far more than the wild swans at Coole.

The parish of rich women have had their own obstacles to survival. But more ridicule than eulogy has attended their failures and betrayals. For, as Henry James so clearly perceived, the Anglo-American heiress suffered all the ambiguities of a freedom more apparent than real—when it wasn't actually fatal. That money can't buy you love may seem a simple-minded enough verity, but what else, after all, was she allowed to do with it? Rich men were called philanthropists. Sitting in paneled offices, they wrote checks to "deserving" individuals or institutions they might never see; giving away money was a brief and satisfying respite from making it. With no professional sphere to contain or sublimate social and sexual impulses, wealthy women had no real alternatives to personalizing patronage.

The plain ones were often luckier—or smarter. Seeing safety in numbers, they tended to go in for social uplift. Trooping through tenements, establishing settlement houses, well-off young women like Jane Addams and Lillian Wald sought and found in collective love the thing that eluded or repelled them in what James called "the great relation." Poor poets posed a greater danger than the "dangerous classes."

Blind to that truth, their glamorous counterparts preferred subsidizing artists, writers and mystics—where would Gurdjieff and Krishnamurti have been without them? And for confusing *eros* and *agape,* for trying to buy into the creative—or transcendental—act, women like Mabel Dodge Luhan, Ottoline Morrell and Peggy Guggenheim received, in predictably ugly scenarios, their just—or unjust—deserts. The attempt to be mistress, Maecenas and muse always ended badly.

Out of this tradition emerged the Cunards, mother and daughter—an apostolic succession of sorts. Both found creative men irresistible. Lady Emerald (née Maud Burke of San Francisco) inherited a fortune from a highly equivocal "uncle," burnished it by marrying Sir Bache Cunard, then proceeded to enjoy it, first with the Irish writer George Moore, then, after leaving the horsy Sir Bache and moving to London, with Thomas Beecham, her companion of many years.

As Emerald sincerely disliked children, Nancy seems to have been even more neglected than the prevailing style of upper-class child-rearing required. George Moore (rumored, in fact, to have been Nancy's father) appears to have been the only unpaid adult to have taken any notice of her until she was nearly grown. The most beautiful

Benita Eisler is the editor of The Lowell Offering: Writings by New England Mill Women 1840-45, *and is now at work on a book about self-education in America,* Bettering Ourselves, *to be published by Harper & Row.*

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and febrile of the glittering set of prewar "bright young things," Nancy was briefly married to the requisite handsome young officer, before unsettling for a life of *échecs de scandale.*

Her ivory bracelets and black lovers (with a few notable white ones like Aldous Huxley and Louis Aragon) obscured some real achievements, the more impressive as they were wrenched from a life largely described by chaos. The anthology *Negro* (1934), compiled and edited by Cunard, was among the first to include essays in the anthropology of African cultures, as well as contributions from artists, writers, poets and historians, black and white. Weakened by its encyclopedic ambitions, *Negro* still stands as tribute to Cunard's intense commitment—all but singular for her class and period—to ending racism. That her motives were mixed, and included the need to humiliate Mamma the Mayfair hostess (and more dangerously, holder of the purse strings), a lust for martyrdom and some of the sillier aspects of 1920s Primitivism, in no way invalidates her efforts. The psychohistory of most social reformers and revolutionaries reveals similarly Freudian agendas.

Cunard's creditable front-line coverage of the Spanish Civil War and her modest, faithful work as a ministry typist in wartime London marked the end of her ability to function in the real world. There followed two decades of gruesome disintegration, mental and physical, that ended with an anonymous death in the charity ward of a Paris hospital in 1965—a nightmare that makes her life a moralist's dream. And the moralists are right. Without education, discipline, direction, without the financial imperative to work, Cunard's considerable intelligence, energy and will constantly ran aground. The professionalism and resourcefulness she could summon in special situations or for particular projects could not be sustained—or sustaining. The real sadness of this failed life is Cunard's recognition of work as the only respite from the clamor of self—and her inability to act on this knowledge. In mad pursuit of that "creative" talent of which she possessed not a glimmer, ultimately bored by the organizational and managerial skills she might have developed, every third-rate poet, musician or boxer became a passport to Art in its natural state, with sex and money as the only available means of appropriation (until insanity rendered any degree of talent unlikely company). Analyses of Cunard's sexual adventurism in terms of "nymphomania" and/or frigidity all seem to miss this obvious point.

Tracking lesser lives is the work of the social historian more than the biographer. And it is in precisely this role that Anne Chisholm fails her subject. Far from giving any reassuring evidence of a prior familiarity with the period and its other actors, Chisholm's style and tone suggest that an important poet and political figure like Louis Aragon was as unknown a quantity to her as he must be to her readers. This unhappy impression is reinforced by locutions whose vulgarity suggests the gossip columnist, e.g., "internationally aristocratic girl"; elsewhere, we are treated to morsels of pop psychology whose effect is unintentionally comic: "Nancy was not ill treated. But she had a sensitive, spirited nature, and she grew up feeling that she had been deprived of something; she felt she had not been loved." Such lapses, which inevitably undermine our confidence in the writer, are all the more unfortunate in a work of such prodigious, indeed definitive, industry. For no one will come this way again. □

Voices

GERALD WEALES

A SUNDAY BETWEEN WARS: The Course of American Life from 1865 to 1917. By Ben Maddow. Illustrated. W. W. Norton. 316 pp. $12.95.

In Richard Corliss's *The Hollywood Screenwriters* there is a list of Ben Maddow's credits. A note at the bottom explains the asterisks that sprinkle the page by quoting Maddow, "I prefer to be mentioned as the author of these screenplays only." The impulse to edit one's life, to give it a more satisfactory shape than untidy actuality provides, is a conventional one, a stock motivation of autobiographers from St. Augustine to Margaret Trudeau. It is also an image of the necessary limitation of historiography. History has to be written by an individual, burdened with theories, prejudices and longings, standing at a particular point, temporal and ideational, which forces him to look at the accumulation of documents (fact and fancy) and discern the shape of events, the order and direction implicit in the detritus left in the wake of disorderly, directionless time. Ben Maddow, knowing all this from having gone for his own asterisks, set out to find a new perspective when he turned his attention to the history of American life from the Civil War to World War I.

His title is ironic. *A Sunday Between Wars* suggests a momentary rest in a continuing history of violence, but one of the appearances of the titular phrase finds it near the beginning of a chapter called "If You Don't Come in Sunday Don't Come in Monday," the boss's admonition to workers fighting for a six-day week. The line is so familiar—part of the folklore of the labor movement in this country—that Maddow feels no need to identify it, simply uses it and lets it help make the point that for a great many Americans, new ones and old ones, the Sunday between wars provided little rest. Convinced that too many histories of the nineteenth century are concerned with the grand design, the enrichment of the country through industrial growth and expansion to the West, "the view from the top," he wants to present the history beneath the history, the nightmare within the American dream, "the view from the bottom." He has chapters on the displacement of the Indian, the building of the railroads, the recurring rush for gold, the lot of the working man within the larger industrial structure, the waves of immigration, the failed utopias from Coxey's Army to the Industrial Workers of the World, the unconsoling consolations of ordinary life. The "hidden argument" of the book, he says, is that history "is the result of millions of personal vectors, each of them a series of human lives." When you choose your vectors, you chart your direction. Maddow's book, although somewhat chaotic on the surface, has an underlying shape, one of pain, fatigue, loss, failure, the sacrifice of lives and hopes to provide a foundation for the pyramid of industrialization—an image that he regularly conjures.

Although Maddow tries to use the nameless, the unknown voices as often

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as possible, some of his sources (Mary Boykin Chesnut, Mother Jones, Jacob Riis) have some celebrity in the world. Still, he avoids figures like Senator Orville H. Platt of Connecticut, who interrupted the flow of optimistic rhetoric in his celebratory speech on the centenary of the Patent Office (1891) to dispose of the "more or less prevalent idea that the result of invention is to enrich the few at the expense of the many—that capital is assisted while labor is injured. I have little patience with this belief. It is the wail of the pessimist rather than the opinion of the intelligent." Maddow's book suggests that intelligence is not a necessary antithesis to pessimism and that there may have been a reason for the prevalence, more or less, of the idea Senator Platt found noxious.

I suspect, in fact, that Maddow's book is more an answer to the conventional wisdom of the nineteenth century than it is a corrective to the way historians see that century. The view from the top, since the first debunking biographer came on the scene, has often been a sardonic one, and even the more tempered revisionists do not ignore the human consequences of what was once called progress. A whole new breed of historian, armed with electronic hardware, is feeding vast amounts of information into machines on the assumption that no useful pattern can emerge unless the data are complete, cutting through class, sex, race, geography. Elsewhere, statistics are humanized in sympathetic studies of life among the underdogs, and sometimes the books become best sellers, as did Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee,* which Maddow uses, and Irving Howe's *World of Our Fathers.* Photographs like those Maddow has chosen to illustrate his book have become so familiar that the accusing faces in Lewis Hine's record of working-class Americans have long since come between the public and the exemplary image of Andrew Carnegie rising from bobbin-boy to steel baron.

Maddow is somewhat given to strange assumptions—that we (Americans? the readers?) see our ancestors as sexless, Henry Ford as the inventor of the motorcar, "immigration as a great storm of untidy, if not downright dirty, strangers, speaking Yiddish or Sicilian or Polish or some other gibberish that ought to be got rid of as soon as possible." It is this kind of imperceptiveness that lets him set out to lead the reader to a new vantage point from which to see nineteenth-century America and end by depositing him on very crowded common ground. This fact is implicit in Maddow's sources. Although he quotes from some archival material, most of his information and his witnesses come from secondary sources or earlier collections of primary material. The best of these, the one he uses most frequently, is *Workers Speak: Self-Portraits,* edited by Leon Stein and Philip Taft, a gathering of statements first published in the *Independent* (1902-1906). Since that volume is currently in print, readers may prefer to listen to the workers' voices without the Maddow filter.

There are occasional errors which seem to be of little importance, the kind of editorial slip-ups that find their way into most books. Still, when Maddow tells me that Sitting Bull died in 1877, I get nervous about the less easily checkable statistics that are scattered through the book. Commenting on an actor's diary from the early days of motion pictures, Maddow says "There was still some live theatre" and quotes the diarist, "Saw Marie Pickford in

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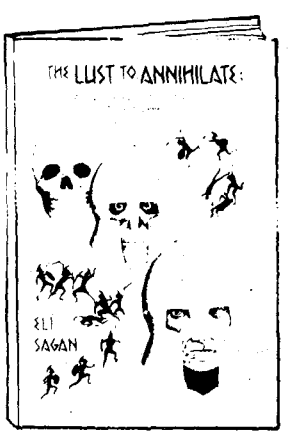

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'Mistress Will' at the Strand." I know from the date (1915) that it was a movie the actor saw, *Mistress Nell,* and although only a Pickford enthusiast would stop to quibble, I find myself wondering—since Maddow worked from a manuscript—if the book has other, more damaging errors of transcription.

There are disconcerting juxtapositions as well. I assume that Maddow—movie maker that he is—wants to create a kind of historical montage, one that plays image against image, voice against voice, in a pattern that conveys the overall sense of a milieu—a factory at work, a town in riot—and still retains a sense of individual men and women speaking. A device that might work on screen is disintegrative here. We get not a mosaic, but a book cover stuffed with fragments which too often pull against one another. In his composite portrait of a mining camp, he manages to quote one book ("Shooting is not frequent; fighting is only occasional; and property is perfectly secure") and contradict it a few pages later ("Every man carried a gun or two, and a large knife for work at close quarters. Quarrels in the heat of whiskey were ordinary events"). Two different camps, two different dates, two different commentators, but still a befuddlement for the reader who is being given a general impression. Similarly, when Maddow adds an editorial parenthesis to a comment on cannibalism on the trail ("He probably had the Donner party in mind") only to follow on the next page with a detailed account of non-Donner people-eating, he simply confuses. Elsewhere he makes a general point about the difficulty of the Italian immigrant in separating himself from the extended family of his European life, but does so on the heels of a quotation in which the Italian in question is remembering his life in an orphanage.

The voices may be at war with one another now and then, but at least they are voices, human beings trying, sometimes awkwardly, to record their difficulties and their triumphs. The oddest thing about the book is that Maddow, who is so obviously sympathetic to these people without being sentimental about them, manages through occasional turns of phrase and unusual plays of thought to dehumanize them in the way he deplores in the conventional histories he thinks he is correcting. "Yet there seems something odd about sending a two-legged primate, whose normal habitat for a million years has been the open savannah, to dig thousands of feet underground." His indignation is correct, his science is respectable, but his use of "two-legged primate," even to someone who admires the gorilla as much as I do, seems cousin to the kind of thinking that accepted that men were simply expendable raw material in the service of the mining industry.

If not dehumanization, then distancing, as though, having brought us into the presence of the speakers, he wants to make us spectators again. This process is most obvious in the recurrent allusion to what, at one point, he calls "disaster as theatre," having borrowed from J. A. Dacus (who was he? what were his allegiances?) the sense of the nonparticipating observers of the Pittsburgh riots of 1877 as showing "the same kind of interest . . . they would take in a sensational drama." Maddow caps a long account by the killer of "the notorious Sam Brown" with, "Thus there was born in the American spirit a morbid taste for the real, in which the audience is itself half spectator, half participant." Yet the man's story gives no indication that the event was played for the benefit of an audience or that the self-dramatization, inevitable in a retrospective yarn (those asterisks again), took place at the time of the event. For a less appetizing example of Maddow's disruptive preoccupation with the performing arts, see his intrusion into the diary of a farmer in 1890: "Often, like any soap opera, that simulacrum of ordinary life, the drama of illness broke the monotony." Those "7 convulsions from 9 to 11:30 p.m." that Jenny had on July 23 may function as soap opera for Maddow, but the diary entries give no sense of a welcome break from monotony: "Jenny is not in her right mind today but is resting easy." All the world may be a stage, as some old actor once opined, but a film maker-turned-historian ought not to confuse metaphor with reality if he wants to alter—or to reinforce—our sense of the ordinary American in the not so golden glow of the industrial fires of nineteenth-century America. □

Coming soon: Barbara Grizzuti Harrison considers the appeal of Joan Didion, and in an essay on recent movies, advertisements and music, Mark Miller describes the robotization of culture.

Tunnel Vision

TABITHA M. POWLEDGE

THE SHAPING OF A BEHAVIORIST. *By B.F. Skinner. Alfred A. Knopf. 384 pp. $12.95.*

The process by which a scientific discipline comes to abandon its prevailing way of thinking and sets off in a new direction is intriguing and mysterious, as much a social as an intellectual phenomenon. Its catalyst is often an upstart. In the past, that has meant a young person who must possess a mixture of ignorance and cockiness, and enough flair to inspire and maintain a following during his attacks on, and final embrace by, the establishment.

While cockiness is crucial, the major factor may be ignorance, odd as that may seem at first. Much of science, it is true, is built on what has gone before, but that kind of science may, in a way, be a mopping-up operation, confirming and extending whatever constitutes current orthodoxy. Coming up with new ways of doing things depends, it often seems, upon not knowing the old ways; past intellectual *impedimenta* are just that.

Burrhus Frederick Skinner admits freely and not too ruefully, in this second (but not final) volume of his autobiography, that he was monumentally ignorant of psychology when he entered the field as a graduate student in the late 1920s. Annoyed at Skinner's elementary questions, a professor in an advanced seminar shooed him into an introductory course. Characteristically, he found it boring and never went back.

Even his initial interest in the field came out of ignorance. He had originally hoped to be a writer, and while floundering after college he first learned of J.B. Watson's classic *Behaviorism* through his reading of Bertrand Russell's *Philosophy,* which discusses behaviorism in its first part. Years later, Skinner told Russell this tale; Russell, astonished, responded, "Good heavens,

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I thought it had demolished behaviorism." Indeed, the last part of Russell's book did outline the philosopher's objections to behaviorism, but Skinner had never read those objections; growing bored with a philosphical disquisition mid-book, he had simply never finished it.

If it is possible to be simultaneously protean and single-minded, Skinner is. One of his first publications after entering psychology was an *Atlantic* piece on Gertrude Stein. He has a serious interest in music and is a dedicated (though self-deprecating) musical amateur. He has what appears to be a remarkable talent for working with his hands, a talent in large measure responsible for the success of his work, much of which was conducted with apparatus he designed and built himself. At first glance, one would think only a Renaissance Man could, in one particularly brief creative period (a) write a best-selling novel; (b) build a better baby bed, and (c) design a bomb guidance system that is arguably superior to any in existence even today. Yet all of these accomplishments were simply the expressions of his one idea: that if you find out what strings to pull, living creatures (including humans) can reliably and predictably be made to behave pretty much as you wish.

His essential single-mindedness is no doubt the wellspring of his success, but it is also the source of much of the exasperation—not to say outrage—that greets his pronouncements. Skinner appears completely incapable of seeing the dark side of his world view. In his utopian novel, *Walden II*, ideal social behavior is shaped by gentle means for good ends; the fascist dystopia which is equally possible from such techniques seems not to trouble him. This is particularly curious considering the book was written toward the end of World War II, but Skinner was, again by his own admission, almost as ignorant of world affairs as he was of psychology.

Similarly, the reaction to his notorious baby-tender took him by surprise. Built largely in response to his wife's lack of enthusiasm for the work involved in having a second child, this temperature-and-humidity-controlled total environment was regarded by his critics as just another "Skinner box," the experimental apparatus he designed and built when he began his research on operant conditioning in rats more than a decade earlier.

The problem with his bomb guidance system may have been that it provoked hilarity, consisting as it did of a pigeon in a jacket pecking furiously at a representation of a target in an effort to obtain food rewards. It might have worked. Skinner made it sound logical and rational and even offered data and demonstrations to substantiate his claim. Yet it's an idea that people—including the top brass—could not take seriously. He accepts that other people found Project Pigeon funny, and that such feeling probably contributed to undermining the idea, but it's clear that he himself doesn't see its comic aspects.

No one has ever accused Skinner of having a silly streak; there is an attractive self-mockery in much of what he says of himself when young, but even that bit of irony begins to disappear as he gets older and more eminent. About his eminence there is no doubt; the thing that *Shaping*—despite its title—lacks is an account of how he got that way. It begins and ends with his entry into Harvard, first as a graduate student in the late 1920s, then his return two decades later as a full professor. Given his reputation when he left, his return must surely have been a personal triumph, yet we get none of that here. There are accounts of books read, meetings attended, experiments designed and carried out, but very little information about how and why behaviorism came to constitute an important (and in many ways dominant) way of approaching the field of psychology.

This concentration on individuals to the exclusion of context pertains throughout the book. It is just not clear why the things Skinner wanted to work on were at the time so academically unorthodox. Like Margaret Mead or Carl Sagan, he is that peculiarly American phenomenon, the public scientist. There are hints that he deliberately sought that position, but they are only hints. Did it help or hurt his career? We are not told. Drugs have literally revolutionized psychotherapy for some kinds of problems, but so have behaviorist techniques. Skinner is in substantial part responsible for the fact that I am myself a recovered tobaccoholic and back at my college weight. It would have been interesting to have learned more about why those techniques became available to me.

This is surely one of the most exten-

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sive intellectual biographies ever produced for general readership, yet so far it is likely to disappoint everybody save the specialist, because the milieu in which this exceptional life has been lived is largely unexplained. Or perhaps the word is unexamined. Single-mindedness and deliberate exclusion of unwanted stimuli may be his autobiographical, as well as his experimental, methodology.

Few of his colleagues travel as far down the behaviorist road as Skinner does, of course. An appreciable part of what he has said has needed to be modified or abandoned; people are, at bottom, not rats. (Indeed, it is probably true that even rats are not rats when they have to scramble for a living in the world beyond the periphery of a Skinner box.) His form of determinism suffers the fate of *any* monocausal account of that intricately woven denial of entropy we call life; no single explanation can suffice. But there is no denying that he has hold of a piece of the truth, though for him, of course, it is more than a piece. During his doctoral exam, he reports, "I was embarrassed only once. Allport asked me, 'What are some of the objections to behaviorism?' and I could not think of a single one." □

How Things Are

MARJORIE GRENE

RELIABLE KNOWLEDGE: An Exploration of the Grounds for Belief in Science. *By John Ziman. Cambridge University Press. 197 pp. $18.95.*

> In the early 1960s, a distinguished physical chemist . . . reported strange phenomena in water condensed from the vapour in fine glass capillaries. The high viscosity, strange behaviour on melting, unusual Raman spectrum, and other properties suggested that this might be a new phase of water: in other words, it was a remarkable discovery, falsifying the "lazy" hypothesis that the compound H_2O has only one liquid form.

Marjorie Grene is the author of Philosophy In and Out of Europe *(University of California Press) and many other books and articles on philosophy and the philosophy of science.*

So begins the story of *anomalous water.* American scientists discovered the "discovery" by 1968 and, as Ziman reports, "an explosion of research effort" resulted. In 1970 there were nearly 200 papers, including lovely pictures in *Science* itself of "types of anomalous water lattices." As a polymer of ordinary water, the entity was duly christened *polywater.* By 1973, however, the excitement was over. The odd properties of the condensate turned out to be, so it was inferred, effects of various impurities dissolved from the glass. The "discovery" was no discovery at all.

The history of science is full of such incidents. Why should we lavish time, money and respect on people who commit such follies? John Ziman, who is a professor of physics at the University of Bristol, has sketched a common-sensical and, on the whole, persuasive answer to the question of the credibility of scientific knowledge. Although he is sometimes inclined to swallow unsavory philosophical nostrums, he combines these with more wholesome recipes, and the result, if not too carefully tasted, goes down pretty well.

He is trying here, he says, to work up something on the lines of a paper in physics, where one proposes a model, infers its theoretical properties, and uses it to explain "experimental phenomena." He proposes a *social* model, according to which the reliability of science depends "on the structure of social relationships that link scientific observers and benevolently rule their inimitable individual powers of perception and cognition." This is not a new conception, nor does Ziman claim that it is; but it is a view of science too much neglected by most philosophers, who have sought in the main a more automated version, safely isolated from the real world of scientific practice. Or if they have attended to science itself, as the ongoing activity of a community or network of communities, they have usually declared it chaotic or irrational, presumably because it fails to fit their aseptic ideal of what knowledge ought to be.

Ziman, like a few others, manages to portray the sociality of science as itself a reasonable and largely successful carrier of important and ever-growing cognitive achievements. In doing this he is continuing the sketch of his earlier *Public Knowledge* (Cambridge, 1967), and at the same time turning back from the more sociological perspective of his *Force of Knowledge* (Cambridge, 1976) to the basic epistemological issue. The fundamental problem, of course, is the relation of the cultural location of science (its inherence in history, which is contingent and parochial) to its claim to convey knowledge—to tell us how things are, not as scientific authority in 1979 happens to view them but as any "impartial observer" would report them, or even, in abstraction from all points of view, as they "really" are.

All knowledge is somebody's and therefore perspectival. Yet the concept of "knowledge" is meaningless if it shrinks to the *mere* report of somebody's "mental acts," however representative such acts may be of the bent of one, or of most, or even of all human societies. Science is a human activity, or a complicated nexus of human activities; yet it makes sense as "science" only insofar as its inherent goal—and sometimes its actual achievement—is to make contact with some aspect of reality, a reality glimpsed through scientists' models, equations, experimental data, but *real* in the last analysis. It's a hard row to hoe. No one, so far as I know, has yet worked out, in such a way as to gain general acceptance, a comprehensive philosophical account of science in its historical yet rational character. Ziman's essay should be noted by those interested in such an enterprise.

Apart from the virtues of a "social" model as such, Ziman's account has some special merits. In addition to stressing the importance of consensus (*consensuality,* as he calls it) as a criterion of credibility, he introduces the notion of *consensibility* and gives it equal importance. Although it is not always entirely clear how he is using this term, it seems to refer to two aspects of scientific discourse, or, more broadly, scientific practice. The reports of science must be consensible in that their subject matter must be open to inspection, equally perceptible to all who know how to look. But at the same time they must be consensible in the sense of being *intelligible* to any competent listener or reader who has access to them. Thus consensibility seems to mean public intelligibility as well as public visibility. It's a question of "seeing" what the problem is, with eye and mind.

Consensibility has to do with looking (and understanding) in a full-

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bodied, common-sense way. Ziman's introduction of it is related to another merit of his account: his insistence on the continuity between ordinary experience and the esoteric worlds of the natural sciences. The most unlikely theoretical entities have nevertheless to be understood in the context of the everyday world. And in particular, he tells us, perception and visualization play their part even in the most sophisticated branches of science. This emphasis on the place of perception and imagination in the procedures of the sciences is, in my view, long overdue.

At the same time there are odd naïvetés and/or confusions in Ziman's report of his model. Although he excuses himself from a thorough acquaintance with the philosophical literature, he does draw on a number of sources, often in ways one is unable to fit together either with one another or with his own insights. How, for example, is one to reconcile a recurrent reliance on Karl Popper's "objective knowledge" (an "epistemology without a knowing subject," as its inventor vaunts it to be) with the dependence of knowledge on "mental acts in the mind of some knower"? How is one to accept *both* an emphasis on Kuhnian paradigms and an acceptance of the growth of knowledge?

The weakest part of the book, finally, at which, alas, it seems the whole argument was aimed, is the treatment of social science. Ziman adduces a number of respects in which social science is, so far, a limited, and even defective, science. We won't soon, he conjectures, solve our practical or social-cognitive problems on any large scale by "scientific" methods. But the reasons he gives for this prognosis are superficial. The fundamental methodological difference between natural and social science he has entirely failed to see. It would be both tedious and unnecessary to try to expound that difference here. Suffice it to say that the by now fairly fashionable hermeneutical approach to social science deals with it pretty well. Indeed, Ziman's book itself is hermeneutical. After all, it is *not* a paper in physics, but a sustained reflection by a scientist about what scientists claim to do: it depends for its conception and execution upon the very standards it is trying to describe. It takes place within the circle of interpretation in which social science, like philosophical reflection, is inevitably contained. Like social science, moveover, it moves on a logical level distinct from that of natural science: it is not about quarks, the thermal conductivity of sodium, or the interaction of zinc with sulfuric acid but rather about the cognitive claims made by people trying to understand such entities or processes. □

THEATER

DICK BRUKENFELD

Just as black theater took people who were servants and made them into the main characters of its plays, District 1199's *I Just Wanted Someone to Know* takes women from the fringes of society—nurses, cotton mill workers, telephone operators—and puts them at stage center. Produced by the union's Labor Theater, this documentary play with music shows us working women from the early 1900s to the present as they struggle against poverty and other assaults on their dignity.

With the simplicity and directness of a primitive painting, the five actresses on stage make a living mirror for their audience. Eighty-five percent of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees District 1199's members are women, and 70 percent are black or Hispanic. The ethnic mix of the all-woman cast is two blacks, one Hispanic, one Oriental and one white. (The director, C.R. Portz, is a white male, which accounts for the 15 percent silent minority.)

Each of the on-stage representatives introduces us to characters from her ethnic background. As a Hispanic who garbles her English, Hortensia Colorado makes a telling comment on the self-interest that governs education. In English classes sponsored by the International Harvester Corporation, she learns such phrases as "I like my job" and "the pay is good." Union English classes teach her something else.

A black actress takes us through the rigors of working in a cotton mill and breathing its dust. The Oriental serves us a tidbit of a pineapple cannery worker's life. Representing the older women, the gray-haired Valerie Morrell riffs about senior citizens joining the fight for better working conditions, saying, "Rock the boat, come in, the water's fine." But women do not live by bread alone, and one of the strongest moments is Gussie Harris doing a talking blues number about life with an unfaithful husband.

Created to be seen by workers during their lunch break, *I Just Wanted Someone to Know* runs forty minutes and has a flavor I associate with dinner theater—a prepackaged, portion-controlled, nothing-heavy quality. Much of this is by necessity, since the production travels to a different hospital or nursing home each day. Like Chinese food, this union show is quickly digestible, but it doesn't stay with you for long.

Its strength is its closeness to the people out front, speaking to, for and even with them. At the performance I attended, I sensed that many people in the audience were seeing themselves taken seriously on stage for the first time. You could hear expressions like "that's the truth," "right on, baby," and "I can dig it."

What's unusual about this play is that a labor union produced it as a part of a two-year, $1.3 million cultural effort. Called Bread and Roses, the District 1199 program is sponsoring eight dramatic, musical and poetry shows that will tour the hospitals and nursing homes where its members work, plus a variety of art and photo exhibits, street fairs and concerts.

Once, such cultural events were an important part of American workers' lives. They took part in plays, concerts and readings—the mill girls of Lowell, Mass., even published an internation-

Dick Brukenfeld is a critic and playwright.

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ally known literary magazine. And it is from the mill girls that District 1199 takes the name of its cultural effort. Marching in the Lawrence, Mass., textile workers strike of 1912, the workers carried signs which read, "We want bread and roses too." Commemorating the strike, poet James Oppenheim wrote, "Hearts starve as well as bodies/ Give us bread but give us roses."

Like many good things, labor's embrace of culture seems to have died during World War II. I mark its last gasp as the International Ladies Garment Workers production of *Pins and Needles*, a satirical revue that opened in 1937 and ran more than 1,200 performances. Since then, labor has let the roses lie fallow and has concentrated on increasing the worker's supply of bread.

So Bread and Roses has the chance to restore a lost part of the American labor movement. But there's a crucial difference between this new effort and the original. Back then the workers did it themselves, writing for and publishing their literary magazine, playing instruments, singing and appearing in *Pins and Needles*—the cast of that smash success was made up entirely of professional garment workers who were amateur actors and singers.

But these are different times, and District 1199 is jobbing in the new culture, hiring people from such unions as Actors Equity, the Dramatists Guild and the Musicians Union to create and perform their shows. The closest thing to the original is the Bread and Roses oral history musical revue which professional writers are fashioning from raw material supplied by union members.

With Bread and Roses, District 1199 Executive Secretary Moe Foner says, each of the union's 100,000 members will be able to enjoy "a theater or humanities experience once every two months for two years." Besides raising their consciousness about the role of labor in this country, Foner hopes the program will encourage workers to "reach beyond their daily tasks toward a fuller involvement in ideas and creativity."

One hopes Bread and Roses will do just that, so instead of having all their culture jobbed in, the union members can once again create for themselves. Surrogate city is at best a temporary residence. □

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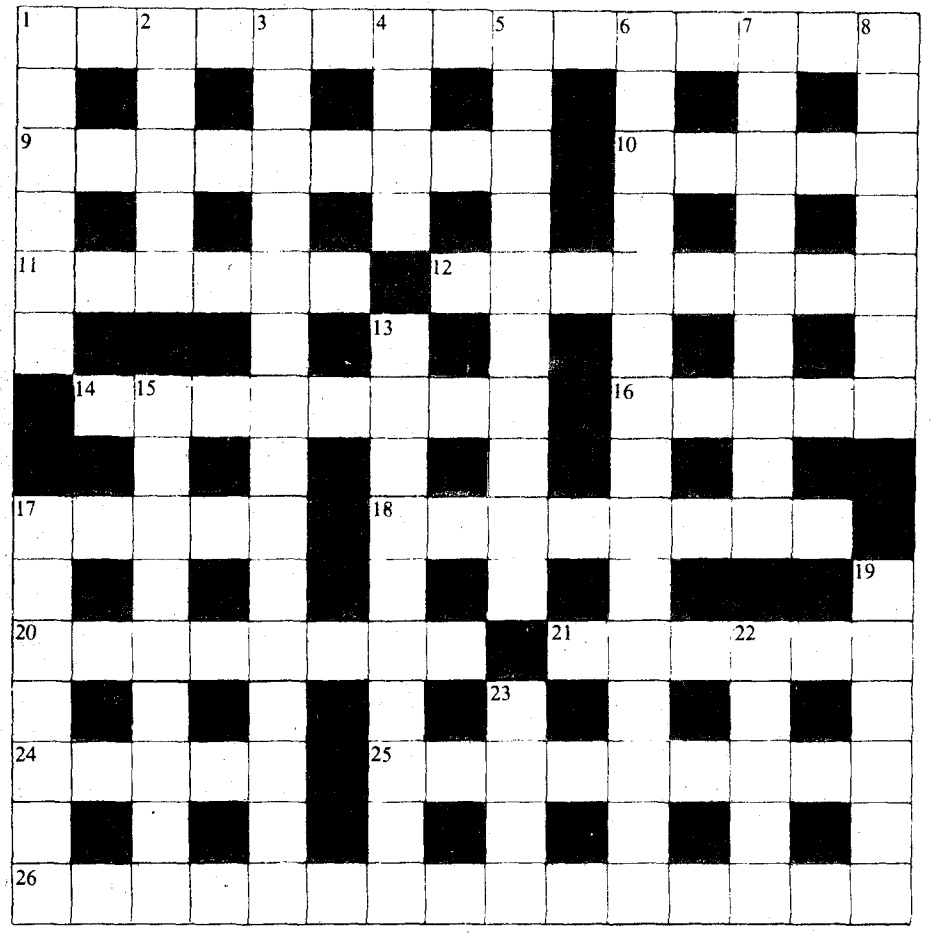
Crossword Puzzle No. 1783

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Not necessarily a good deal inferior to the computer. (5,3,7)
9 The defiance of Leo, who resisted authority. (9)
10 A lid's turned as one calls. (5)
11 Locating by the eye, it seems. (6)
12 State banks are bust! (8)
14 A lot of talk at a Socialist Party picnic? (8)
16 Lists of bad guys. (5)
17 Euclid's bridge. (5)
18 The sort of fellow a poet was, and very knowing from one end to the other. (8)
20 What the bells at the bank might be doing is marginal, possibly. (8)
21 The sort of sound screen they use to bewilder one? (6)
24 Like a layer which is very pale. (5)
25 The other pane is broken in surgery, possibly. (4,5)
26 Step over a rural brook—that's what they probably have to do in one. (5-7,3)

DOWN

1 The international body is not in session during it, but it might be political. (6)
2 One who comes out with what Clara Bow had to enter on one side. (5)
3 What do you do with them? Give up? (Elmer Shinn quits, too!) (15)
4 A rather cold greeting. (4)
5 Coming together with a large number sort of governing. (10)
6 Pilots might like to fly here, even though not feeling well. (5,3,7)
7 One might be entitled to a change with them. (9)
8 Are less likely to show what one does to cap again. (7)
13 Plays by oneself during it, with a string arrangement. (6,4)
15 A chip is to get placed in the ice cream, perhaps. (9)
17 Maria is confused in the current language of the Bible. (7)
19 Male or female, not up to it? One might have to take care! (6)
22 A loud place for wild ones with a natural talent. (5)
23 Sharp cry? (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1782

ACROSS: 1 Statesmanship; 10 Honor; 12 Enumerate; 13 Means; 14 Police cadets; 19 Down the drain; 22 Offer; 24 Rehearsal; 25 Boccaccio; 26 Ivied; 27 Editor-in-chief. DOWN: 2 Tune up; 3 Turned out; 4 Submarine; 5 Alike; 6 Sodom; 7 Imitates; 8 and 11 Three Blind Mice; 9 Persist; 15 Earthborn; 16 Animalish; 17 Adsorbs; 18 Two-faced; 20 Aspire; 21 Slide; 23 Roast; 24 Racer.

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